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HOW TO ATTACK THE TARIFF.

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DURING the first session of the Fiftieth Congress the House of Representatives was Democratic and the Senate was Republican. Mr. Cleveland was President. The first session of that Congress assembled on the first Monday in December, 1887, and adjourned on the 20th day of October, 1888. The presidential election occurred in November thereafter. The Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives of that Congress reported a measure for a general revision of the tariff, known as the Mills Bill. The general debate on that bill began in the House on the 17th day of April and occupied twenty-three day-and-evening sessions. In all, 151 speeches were made during the general debate. The debate upon the bill by paragraphs began on the 31st day of May; and twenty-eight days, or 128 hours and 10 minutes, were occupied in the five-minute debate. The vote was taken upon the passage of the bill in the House on the 19th day of July.

The bill then went to the Senate, where considerable time was spent in so-called "hearings" by the Finance Committee of that body. The result was inevitable from the beginning; namely, that there was no tariff legislation enacted, and the session of Congress was prolonged until the 20th day of Oc-

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tober, as already stated. As the presidential election occurred within a few days thereafter, there was no time whatever for the proper consideration of this measure by the people. Whatever may have been the cause of Democratic defeat at that election, it must be conceded that the introduction and passage through the House of a general bill of tariff revision did not produce the effect which the friends of the measure had earnestly desired, namely, the choice of a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress at the ensuing election.

During the last Congress, which was Republican in both branches, and during which time there was a Republican President, a measure for a general revision of the tariff, known as the McKinley Bill, was passed at the first session and was approved on the day of adjournment, October 1, 1890.

It is conceded that the time necessary for the preparation and passage through both Houses of Congress of a carefully matured revision of the tariff required both of the preceding Congresses to consume upon that subject the time which was actually occupied, and which in both cases resulted in the prolongation of the session until the 20th and the 1st of the month of October, respectively.

The Republicans in the late Congress, at its beginning, were undoubtedly of the opinion that the interests of their party required that there should be a general revision of the tariff passed during that session, and fondly hoped that such general revision would bring success to their party at the ensuing congressional election. They were sadly disappointed. The result of the ensuing election for Members of Congress was most disastrous to the party that was responsible for the passage of the McKinley Bill; the Democrats and Independents, both opposing that measure, having elected a majority of 158 over those who supported it.

However meritorious the Mills Bill may have been from a Democratic standpoint, or however meritorious the McKinley Bill may have been from a Republican standpoint, it is nevertheless true that the time which elapsed between the passage of each bill and the ensuing election was not sufficient to enable the people to become sufficiently familiar with the provisions of either measure, and, being in doubt, caution doubtless suggested the preservation of the *status quo*.

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In view of these precedents in tariff legislation, what should be the policy of the Democratic majority in the House of Representatives of this Congress? If both branches of Congress and the President were Democratic, there would be grave doubt as to the propriety of attempting a general revision of the tariff immediately preceding a presidential election. The disastrous results to the Republican party which immediately followed the passage of the McKinley Bill ought to teach Democrats to avoid the rocks upon which their opponents were dashed to pieces. But when we consider the fact that the Senate is Republican, and that there is a Republican President, and that any such measure which might pass the House would not have the slightest prospect of success, it seems almost self-evident that a general revision of the tariff should not be attempted during this session. As recently stated by a distinguished tariff-reform organ in the city of New York, "to propose in the House at this session, on the eve of a national election, a general revision of the tariff, might be magnificent, but it would not be war, such as must be waged for victory. It would in no sense advance the object professed; it would not make the devotion of the party to the principles of industrial and commercial emancipation a whit clearer than it is now. It would not make the necessity or advantage of the triumph of those principles any more obvious. It is not at all requisite to inform the country what the Democratic party believes in and is working for. It would be simply a tactical error of the gravest possible kind. It would be to abandon a strong aggressive position for a position of defence that would not be strong. It would instantly invite the concerted opposition of every interest now depending on the favors of the present tariff, and give to the opponents of every item in the bill the combined strength of the opponents of all." These propositions are absolutely unassailable.

While a general revision of the tariff should not be reported and passed at this session of Congress, yet it does not follow that nothing should be done on this subject. The Committees on Ways and Means and on Manufactures should proceed at once to a careful investigation of the practical workings of the McKinley Bill and of the conditions of our manufacturing industries. This information should be utilized in the preparation of a measure of general relief upon this subject; but as such measure could

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not be passed except by a prolongation of the session,—even if it were desirable to pass it at all at the first session,—in view of the precedents of the past, sound policy would require that it should not be reported to the House until the beginning of the next session. Some progress could be made during that session in its consideration, but a definite line of policy to be pursued at that time would depend upon the result of the presidential election. If either branch of the Fifty-third Congress should be Republican,—a fact which will be determined at that election,—it would be futile to attempt to pass a measure of general revision during the remainder of this Congress or during the next Congress. If, however, the Fifty-third Congress should be Democratic, and a Democratic President should be elected, the new Congress might with great propriety be called in extraordinary session on the 4th day of March, 1893, and the work of tariff revision could then be begun in earnest, with a certainty of practical and successful results. Such early revision at the beginning of a presidential term would enable the country to become thoroughly familiar with the great advantages of a genuine revision of the tariff prior to any general election, and the party which was responsible for such revision might confidently expect the continued support of a majority of the American people in subsequent elections of Congresses and Presidents.

There are several features of the McKinley Bill which may be amended or repealed during this session. The Republican Senate and the President would hardly take the responsibility of refusing some of the measures of relief which may be brought forward and passed by the House of Representatives. The particular measures which should be selected for passage through the House should be determined either by the Committee on Ways and Means or by a caucus of Democratic members. There are several, however, which have already received favorable mention in the press of the country: such as placing wool on the free list and repealing the compensatory duty on woollen goods; placing on the free list binding-twine, cotton-ties, lumber, salt, and raw materials generally. The discussion in this article of particular subjects which should have consideration at this time would perhaps be unprofitable; but there is one measure which is of overshadowing importance, and which should receive immediate and favorable consideration.

The placing of wool on the free list and a corresponding reduc-

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tion of the duties on woollen goods are a matter the importance of which cannot be overestimated. The duties on woollen goods were increased by the McKinley Bill from an average of 67.15 per centum to 91.65 per centum. The increase on wool was from 34.32 to 40.66. The duties imposed on woollen goods are of a two-fold character: first, there is a duty per pound or per square yard, which is intended to compensate manufacturers for the higher price which they claim they must pay for wool by reason of the tariff; and second, a duty ad valorem, being, as is alleged, imposed to compensate for the higher-priced labor of this country as compared with foreign countries. The duties per pound or per square yard are especially burdensome upon the cheaper grades of goods worn by the masses of the people. These specific duties frequently amount to over 100 per centum of the value, and, in some cases, to over 200 per centum. If these specific or compensatory duties are repealed, the ad-valorem duties only will remain, and these do not exceed in any case 60 per centum, and are frequently as low as 35 per centum; the average, perhaps, would amount to 45 per centum. This is the amount of protection which the friends of the protective system have adjudged is necessary to prevent injurious competition from abroad. But if wool is placed upon the free list, and the compensatory duties upon woollen goods are repealed, the manufacturers of woollen goods will have no reason to complain of their new conditions; on the contrary, while the people will get the benefit of a reduction of more than one-half of the tariffs on woollen goods, manufacturers will have the benefit of cheaper material and will be enabled to sell their products abroad in competition with the products of other countries. Thus, a larger market will be secured for woollen goods; there will be a greater demand for labor in establishments of this kind; and new industries, it is confidently expected, will spring up in all parts of the country.

It is next to impossible to estimate accurately the amount which the consumers of the United States pay annually on account of woollen goods. The amount of such goods made in the woollen mills for the census year 1890 was valued at $344,000,000. This does not include the output of ready-made clothing establishments for men and women; nor does it include the cost, to consumers, of the work done by tailors and dressmakers; nor the labor

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bestowed in the manufacture of woollen goods in the families of the country. The amount of woollen goods imported into the United States for the year 1890 was valued at over fifty-six millions of dollars, and the average duty paid upon these goods was 67 per centum,—the McKinley Bill not having been passed at the close of that fiscal year. The output of factories and ready-made clothing establishments, and the amount of goods imported, with the tariff added to them, is given at factory or wholesale prices. The amount paid by consumers will undoubtedly be increased at least 25 per centum over such prices.

When all these facts are taken into consideration, it will be seen that the consumers of woollen goods in the United States paid during the census year of 1890, in money and in labor, at least $750,000,000 for the woollen goods actually consumed and purchased. Just how much of this amount is due to the tariff on wool and woollen goods cannot be estimated with accuracy, but it is reasonable to assume that not less than $150,000,000 of this cost is due to the tariff on wool and woollen goods. At least half of this amount would be lifted from the shoulders of the people annually by placing wool upon the free list and repealing the compensatory duties on woollen goods. This estimate does not take into consideration the large increase in the tariff on wool and woollen goods made by the McKinley Bill.

So far as wool is concerned, the McKinley Bill has completely failed to accomplish the object which its authors claimed they had in view. In the report which accompanied the bill, when it was brought into the House of Representatives, it was stated that in every case of increased duty, except upon tin-plate and linen fabrics, "importations would fall off." It was stated to be the aim of the committee to fix the duties upon manufactured goods and farm products so as to discourage the use of like goods and products and give our producers the benefit of the home market; and also to afford ample protection to the farmers of the country engaged in wool-growing. The protection on wool, which the bill secured, was claimed to be sufficient, beyond a doubt, to enable the farmers of the United States, at an early day, to supply substantially all the home demand. This was the argument made by the authors of the bill to justify the imposition of increased duties upon wool, and, as a compensation for this, increased duties on woollen goods.

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Time is a cruel arbiter. It is no respecter of persons. It visits upon false theories and false pretences the judgments which they deserve. The statement of the imports of the United States, furnished by the Bureau of Statistics of the Treasury Department, shows that the imports of wool for the ten months ending October 30, 1890 (the McKinley Bill took effect October 6, 1890), amounted to 88,000,000 pounds, while the imports for the ten months the ending October 30, 1891,—the ten months next after the passage of that bill,—were over 119,000,000 pounds, an increase of over 30 per centum. Thus are the theories upon which the McKinley Bill was constructed crushed by the irresistible force of facts.

But this is not all. The increased duties on woollen goods were, as claimed, made necessary by the increased duties on wool. The manufacturers of woollen goods were satisfied with the old law; but if the duty on wool was to be increased, they must be compensated by an increased duty on woollen goods. The increase was made, as stated above. The statistics show that for the ten months ending October 30, 1890, the imports of woollen goods were valued at over $49,000,000, while those for the ten months ending October 30, 1891, were valued at only $29,000,000, a decrease of over 41 per centum. It also appears that the price of wool has averaged from two to three cents a pound less since the passage of the McKinley Bill than it was when the bill passed. The only beneficiaries of the measure are the manufacturers of woollen goods, and it is doubtful whether they will, in the end, receive substantial benefit therefrom. The wool-growers and consumers of woollen goods have not been benefited; on the contary, they have been greatly injured thereby.

Legislators who regard the interests of the people cannot disregard these facts. It is their duty to apply a remedy for existing evils, and to correct the blunders of their predecessors. Every consideration of the public weal demands that wool shall be placed on the free list, and that the compensatory duties on woollen goods shall be repealed. If the present Congress does not respond to this demand, it will be derelict in duty.

A measure which would bring such immediate and substantial relief will not be regarded with indifference. It would "bring relief to the consumer as well as the manufacturer, and redound to the prosperity of the wage-worker as well as the capitalist."

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The other measures which may be passed by the House of Representatives during the first session of this Congress, and to which reference has already been made, will attract universal attention and be received with great favor. They will remove the most glaring inequalities of our tariff laws, and bring immediate relief to those most entitled to consideration. They will be especially aimed at monopolies and other combinations to limit production and oppress labor.

It is futile to attempt that which cannot be accomplished. A good general will not waste his ammunition and resources in assaults upon an impregnable fortress when there are forces of the enemy encamped upon the open field within convenient reach. The friends of tariff reform should waste no time in endeavoring to secure that which is beyond their reach. Their time can be well employed in attacking the weak and exposed points of their enemy's lines. By pursuing this course there will be no step backward in the cause of genuine tariff reform. Everything should be done, and will be done, to bring about a thorough and complete revision of our tariff laws at the earliest time practicable. Such revision should be in the interest of the consumers of the country, but brought about by such conservative methods as will not embarrass any legitimate industry in the conntry, or deprive labor of one day's employment or of one cent of its just remuneration. On the contrary, any revision of the tariff ought to be followed by increased stimulus to industries, increased demand, and better wages for labor; and by lower prices for manufactured articles which are most necessary to the health and comfort of the people.

Some objection has been urged to any effort being made by the House of Representatives to secure the passage of separate measures upon the subjects indicated, for the reason that the credit for the beneficent results which would follow would be claimed and shared, perhaps, by the Republican Senate and the Republican President. Such considerations should not have the slightest weight with legislators who desire to promote the best interests and welfare of the people. Should Democrats refuse to give sanction and support to only such measures as Republicans will oppose? If so, only measures of partisan advantage should be supported, while such as would commend themselves to men of all parties should be avoided. Even if the Republicans should

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be entitled to equal credit for any measures of reform that might be passed by this Congress, Democrats should not hesitate on that account to press those measures to a final and successful issue.

But, in view of the fact that the Republican party is thoroughly committed to all the provisions of the McKinley Bill, any repeal or modification of its provisions which might originate in the House of Representatives and be favorably considered by the Senate and President would be regarded as a Democratic measure, the credit for which would be accorded to that party almost exclusively. If, however, any measures which may pass the House should fail in the Senate, or, having passed the Senate, should be vetoed by the President, the labor spent upon them would not be in vain. The National Democratic Convention could make a direct issue upon them before the people at the presidential election; and, having failed to pass during the first session, they would, in all probability, be successful at the second, after the people had, in effect, demanded their passage in the election of a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress.

An issue thus directed to the weakest points of the McKinley Bill would be much easier of comprehension and more conducive to successful, aggressive warfare than one encumbered by the endless details of a general revision of the tariff, requiring defensive arguments, and arraying the whole protected industries of the country upon the weakest points of the measure. The importance of preserving the McKinley Bill as a distinctive issue in the Presidential campaign should not be lost sight of. Its general provisions are wholly indefensible; it deprives labor of its just reward, fosters monopolies, and encourages combinations of capital to limit production and to control prices. It was enacted in the interest of the favored few and for the oppression of the masses of the people. Opposition to the objectionable features of this measure, coupled with a demand for genuine tariff reform, should be the paramount and overshadowing issue in the Presidential contest; and, upon that issue, the Democratic party is already assured of success, not only in the election of a President, but of a Congress Democratic in both branches.

WILLIAM M. SPRINGER.

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A CLAIM FOR AMERICAN LITERATURE.

BY W. CLARK RUSSELL.

UNTIL Richard H. Dana and Herman Melville wrote, the commercial sailor of Great Britain and the United States was without representation in literature. Dana and Melville were Americans. They were the first to lift the hatch and show the world what passes in a ship's forecastle; how men live down in that gloomy cave, how and what they eat, and where they sleep; what pleasures they take, what their sorrows and wrongs are; how they are used when they quit their black sea-parlors in response to the boatswain's silver summons to work on deck by day or by night. These secrets of the deep Dana and Melville disclosed. By doing so, they — the one by a single volume, the other by four or five remarkable narratives—expanded American literature immeasurably beyond the degree to which English literature had been expanded by, say, the works of two-thirds of the poets named in Johnson's "Lives," or by the whole series of the Waverley novels, or by half the fiction, together with much of the philosophy, theology, poetry, and history, that has been published since the death of Charles Dickens.

For compare what the vast proportion of poets and novelists and philosophers and the rest have done with what these two men did. Dana and Melville created a world, not by the discovery, but by the interpretation of it. They gave us a full view of the life led by tens of thousands of men whose very existence, until these wizards arose, had been as vague to the general land intelligence as the shadows of clouds moving under the brightness of stars. It came about in the case of one of them thus: A young gentleman of Boston, being at Cambridge, fell ill of a malady that affected his sight. His father's means were slender; the lad—he was but a lad—knew that whatever he was to get must be of

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his own earning. How was he to recover the power of his eyes? He determined on making a sea voyage—such a voyage, indeed, as must either kill or cure. So on the 14th August, 1834, this fine-spirited young fellow, Dana, carried his chest on board of a little bit of a brig called the "Pilgrim," for which he had signed as a sailor before the mast. He sailed round the Horn to the coast of California, where he shifted into a full-rigged ship called the "Alert," and arrived at Boston September 22, 1836, having been absent rather more than two years.

The sea appears to have quickly cured his eyes: certainly he used them very promptly! With what sagacity of observation, with what keenness of sympathetic inquisition, he had exercised his vision, was not to be conjectured until 1840, in which year was published the famous "Two Years Before the Mast," the most memorable of all contributions to the literature of the sea; excelling as a faithful and perfect picture of one vast side of the ocean life—a side to which no man heretofore had attempted to give expression or even heed. What was the representation this forecastle artist invited us to view? Something was it after the school of Smollett? Something was it to triumphantly compare then or presently with the fine sketches of Michael Scott, the delightful stories of Captain Marryat, the yarns of our old friend Fenimore Cooper? What was it all about? Did it deal with the almond-white decks, the white lines of hammocks, the black dogs of thunder of the man-o'-war, with the leaning, distant, gleaming chase, the blasts of tiers of ordnance, the hauling-down of sieve-like bunting, the proud mounting of the spangled banner or John's crimson cross, as the case might be? Did it tell of wide and airy 'tween-decks, of hurricane choruses and flowing cans, of the loves of Bet and the bos'un bold, and of many similar matters, all which had found their chroniclers, some of whose works survive and many of whose works you shall never behold though you offered down to the bottom dollar of your pile for a fleeting view of but one—but one?

Dana lifted the curtain and showed you the sort of life hundreds and thousands of those fellow creatures of ours called "sailors" were living in his day, had been living long prior to his day, and will go on living whilst there remains a ship afloat. No Englishman had done this. Marryat makes his Newton Foster a merchant sailor; but Marryat knew nothing of the hidden life

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of the merchant service. He had passed his sea life in ships of the state. When he wrote he held command in the Royal Navy, and knew no more of what passed in a merchantman's forecastle than I of what goes on in a steamer's engine-room. Fenimore Cooper came very near to the truth in his Ned Myers, but the revelation there is that of the individual. Ned is one man. He is a drunken, swearing, bragging Yankee *only* sailor; very brutal, always disgusting. Cooper's book is true of Ned Myers ; Dana's of all sailors, American and English.

His narrative disclosed an unsuspected state of human existence. Never before had the land-going world beheld such a picture of ocean life as Dana submitted. For be it clearly understood that what happened in the "Pilgrim" and the "Alert" happens in all ships : years may have wrought a few changes, but the picture of 1840 will stand for the picture of 1891. I speak not, to be sure, of steamers. Dana wrote of the sailing ship, and it is of the sailing ship that I am writing. When you talk of sailors, you do not think of steamers. If you inquire for a seaman, you are conducted to a ship that is not impelled by machinery, but by the wind. You will find the seaman you want, the seaman Dana wrote about, the generic seaman whose interpretation I count among the glories of literature, seeing how hidden he had been, how darkly obscure in his toil and hourly doings,—*this* seaman you will find in the deck-house or the forecastle of the sailing ship. He is not thrashed across the Atlantic in six days. He is not swept from the Thames to the uttermost ends of the earth in a month. He is afloat for weeks and weeks at a spell, and his life is that of the crew of the "Pilgrim." Do you ask what manner of life it is ? Read "Two Years Before the Mast," and recognize the claim I make for American literature by witnessing in that book the faultless picture of a scene of existence on whose wide face Richard Dana was the first to fling a light.

Herman Melville, as I gather from an admirable account of this fine author by Mr. Arthur Stedman, a son of the well-known poet, went to sea in 1841. He shipped before the mast on board a whaler and cruised continuously for eighteen months in the Pacific. He saw much ocean life, and his experiences were wild and many. I will not compare him with Dana : his imagination was soaring and splendid, yet there are such passages of pathos

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and beauty in Dana's book as persuade me that he might have matched Melville's most startling and astonishing inventions, had taste prompted him or leisure invited. There is nothing in Melville to equal in simple, unaffected beauty Dana's description of an old sailor lying over a jibboom on a fine night and looking up at the stirless canvas white as sifted snow with moonlight. Full of rich poetry, too, is Dana's description of the still night broken by the breathing of shadowy shapes of whales. Melville is essentially American: Dana writes as a straight-headed Englishman would; he is clear, convincing, utterly unaffected. A subtle odor of the sea freshens and sweetens his sentences. An educated sailor would swear to Dana's vocation by virtue of his style only—a style as plain and sturdy as Defoe's. In truth, I know of no American writer whose style is so good. Yet are Melville's pictures of the forecastle life, his representation of what goes on under the deck of that part of the ship which is thumped by the handspike of the boatswain when he echoes in thunder the order of "All hands!" marvellously and delightfully true. I will not speak of his faithful and often beautiful and often exquisite sketches of the life and scenery of the South Sea Islands, nor of his magnificent picture of Liverpool, and the descriptions of London and of English scenery in "Redburn," and the wonderful opening chapters of "Moby Dick." I link him with Dana; I place the two side by side as men of genius, but sailors first of all, and I claim, in their name, that to American literature the world owes the first, the best, and the enduring revelation of the secrets of one great side of the ocean life.

"When I go to sea," Melville says in "Moby Dick," "I go as a simple sailor, right before the mast, plumb down into the forecastle, aloft there to the masthead." His "Redburn" supplemented Dana's book. It is a further upheaval of secrets sheer through the forescuttle into the eye of the landsman. No such book as that was to be found in literature in the English language. Plenty there was, and always was, about the navy, royal and republic. One might have thought that Melville, having read Dana's famous work, had said to himself: "I, too, have suffered and seen and know; I will help to brighten the glittering beam this fine fellow* has darted into the ocean parlors; which

*Mr. Melville, I know, greatly admired the genius of Dana. His praise of "Two Years Before the Mast" half fills a letter I possess.

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has even now made all English readers understand that we merchant seamen form a great world of human beings of whom nobody that takes pen in hand appears to know anything at all, who are carefully neglected by British naval writers because, from the elevation of a man-o'-war's decks, even the biggest merchantman looks to sit low, humanly speaking very low indeed, and who by the inexpert are hideously muddled under that vague term of 'Jack,' confounded with the blue-jacket, and elbowed in with the 'longshoreman."

Melville wrote out of his heart and out of wide and perhaps bitter experience; he enlarged our knowledge of the life of the deep by adding many descriptions to those which Dana had already given. His "South Seaman" is typical. Dana sighted her, but Melville lived in her. His books are now but little read. When he died the other day,—to my sorrow! for our correspondence had bred in me a deeper feeling than kindness and esteem,—men who could give you the names of fifty living American poets and perhaps a hundred living American novelists owned that they had never heard of Herman Melville; which simply means that to all intents and purposes the American sailor is a dead man, and the American merchant service to all intents and purposes a dead industry. Yet a famous man he was in those far days when every sea was bright with the American flag, when the cotton-white canvas shone starlike on the horizon, when the nasal laugh of the jolly Yankee tar in China found its echo in Peru. Famous he was; now he is neglected; yet his name and works will not die. He is a great figure in shadow; but the shadow is not that of oblivion.

Mr. Charles Francis Adams, in his recent biography of R. H. Dana, tells us that on the publication of "Two Years Before the Mast" the young author received many cordial congratulatory letters from such men as Rogers, Brougham, Moore, Bulwer, and Dickens, and the first man Lord Althorp visited on his arrival in the States was the sailor of the "Pilgrim" and "Alert." Dana's revelation was instantly accepted and enjoyed in Great Britain. Would not Charles Dickens, in particular, marvel that the hidden life and spirit of the great maritime industries of Britain and the States had never before been so much as hinted at by the many writers who professed to know the sea and who had dealt with it? Yet one ought not to be surprised that America should have fore-

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reached on and outweathered Great Britain, in a literary sense, in this matter of the merchant sailor. As seafarers whilst they were or had occasion to be seafarers, the Americans shot distinctly ahead of the British. The whole country took such an interest in maritime affairs, in all that pertained to the sea, as must have been sought for in vain amongst the English even in the height of their wars. We cheered Jack and made much of him in our songs and dreams. Oh, yes! the Jack of the frigate and the liner was a wonderfully noble creature indeed whilst he fought for us; but we thought nothing of breaking his skull to secure his services, of flinging him bleeding and mutilated into a tender to lie in stinking quarters till he was drafted, of leaving him to starve on wooden legs when he could fight no more. The Americans were governed by wise theories of equipment. They provided that their service should be coaxing and relishable. *That* to begin with: patriotism might follow. When the "Chesapeake" was to be manned, some time, I think, in 1813, houses of rendezvous were opened, every man who offered received a dollar and was taken by an officer to the ship, where he was examined as to his knowledge of seamanship, his age, the state of his health, and so forth, by a board of officers consisting of the master, surgeon, and others; if he was approved, he signed the ship's articles and stayed; if rejected, he went ashore with a dollar in his pocket. Many boatloads went ashore. There was no need for the bludgeons of the press-gang. No man was torn from his home or employ, from his ship or his wherry, and forced to fight for the principles he abhorred, against states, such as France, whose spirit of revolution and liberty he loved.

In shipbuilding the Americans most assuredly showed the English the road. William James, the historian, in his "Naval Occurrences," published, I think, in about 1817, after he had been a prisoner in the United States, has a passage worth quoting on the speed of the American ships. "They are," he says, "proverbially swift sailers, and the 'President,' with such uncommon topsides, one of the swiftest among them. The quality of sailing depends chiefly upon the form of a ship's bottom, aided by her length. The Americans had, according to Charnock, discovered this early in the war of 1776; and they have now proved clearly that swift sailing is not incompatible with the strongest construction." James hated the Americans; it

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was worse than sweating blood with him to flatter them; his compliments are contrasts designed to explain why it was that the Yankee successes at sea were many. Assuredly while they were a maritime people the Americans built better than the English, saw into the sea life more clearly, perceived with more foresight and sagacity its needs and obligations, commercially and humanly; and they taught us fifty valuable lessons, all of which we were very slow and reluctant to learn.

Take, for instance, the rivalry between the two countries in the China trade. In 1845 a number of splendid ships were despatched from New York and Boston to Whampoa. The English had nothing like them. Their hulls were low, their beam great, their lines wonderfully fine, and their spread of canvas fit to have driven a "Royal George" through it with foam to the hawsepipes. The English followed suit in 1846, and launched at Aberdeen one of the swiftest of schooners, named the "Torrington." We continued to build when we found this schooner a success; but it was the Americans who had shown us what to do and how to do it. Again, the Americans were always in advance of us in the care they took of their seamen. The late Mr. Lindsay, in his "History of Merchant Shipping," says that in the rules and regulations drawn up for the internal management of their marine "the Americans were able at the commencement of their independence to adopt from other nations such laws, even to their most minute details, as appeared to them the best fitted for their position." This is wisdom that was rendered characteristic by the whole of their policy in relation to the discipline and governance of their commercial marine. Lads were highly educated before they were sent to sea; and the American merchantman was often commanded by a gentleman with a college education. Wages were sometimes threefold greater in the American than in the British merchant service. It is asserted that an ignorant American native seaman was as rare as the ignorant British seaman is common; there was scarce a hand in a Yankee forecastle but could read, write, and cipher.

And now, after all these years, the few Britishers who take an interest in their commercial marine and who deplore that English forecastles should be filled with the drainings of the Yaw Yaw clans, the dregs and lees of the Scandinavian populations, are beginning timidly to make proposals which, even if they should be

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fully matured and executed, would still leave the deck-house of the red flag out of the running with the forecastles of the stars and stripes when that brilliant bunting had scores of peaks of its own to soar to. Alas! where be those peaks now? Dana, on his arrival for the first time in England, dwells with delight on the hundred American flags flying the length of the docked Mersey. I own I could scarcely credit the accuracy of the historian of "Merchant Shipping" when I read that, whereas in 1815 the tonnage of the United States was not more than one-half that of Great Britain, it had risen by 1850 to over three and a half million tons, as against less than four and a quarter million tons of British shipping, whilst ten years later the United States owned a larger amount of tonnage than the United Kingdom—that is, inclusive of lake and river steamers: almost as much, indeed, as Great Britain and her colonies combined. In some trades, so supreme was the domination of the Americans by virtue of such perfect ships as the "Oriental," "Challenge," "Sea Witch," "Flying Cloud," and many others, that competition seemed almost hopeless. We built and throve and rose triumphant afterwards, but the Americans had been first; once again Jonathan had shown the greatest maritime nation in the world what to do at sea.

I cannot speak with conviction on the subject of the American forecastle dietary; but if the provisions served out to the American seamen in the heyday of the stripes and stars were not good, most assuredly they could not have been worse than the victuals on which the unhappy English sailor has had to support life while on the ocean ever since Britannia arose at heaven's command. References to food in Dana's and Melville's books are few. Dana speaks of tea as "water bewitched," and of sea biscuit and cold salt beef as forming the sailor's meal. But the question is not, How much do they give you? but, Can you eat it when you have got it? Tom Cringle somewhere says that no monarch could wish for sweeter fare than a piece of virgin cold salt beef, a crisp sea biscuit, and a glass of old Jamaica rum. And Tom Cringle was right: and no sailor would ever dream of murmuring were the salt beef and the biscuit as good as Tom Cringle had in his mind when he talked of them as a dish fit to set before a king.

In the English merchant service nothing has ever proved so

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fruitful of mutiny as the provisions served out to the forecastle. I had no other desire in writing the "Wreck of the Grosvenor" than to exhibit and tragically accentuate the owner's ghastly and disgusting indifference to the health and wants of his crew. I heartily wish that Mr. Dana, in his magnificent revelation of the hidden parts of the sea life, had dwelt on this subject of food. Melville romances somewhat when he approaches the galley; and you are scarcely sure that he quite means all he says. In "Omoo," for example, he describes the "Julia's" provisions; the pork looked as if preserved in iron rust and diffused an odor like a stale ragout. Of the beef the cook told a story of a horse's hoof with a shoe on having been fished up out of the pickle of one of the casks. The biscuit was like gunflints full of little holes, as if the worms in boring after nutriment had gone through and come out on the other side without finding anything fit to eat. This ship was a whaler; she had been long a-cruising, and the provisions aboard her might very well lack relish. Fortunately for American tradition in respect to the excellent provisioning of Yankee whalers, the "Julia" was an English vessel—that is to say, she was owned by a house in Sydney, New South Wales. Davis, in his excellent and powerful "Nimrod of the Sea," an American whaling story full of fine touches, old sea jokes, and useful information, is very express in the matter of provisioning. The stores of his ship were first-rate; it may have been always so with the whaler.

However, I will not here assert that the Americans have taught us any particular lesson in the direction of forecastle fare. They invented the double topsail yards; they invented the "chanty," the inspiring choruses of the windlass and the capstan, such hurricane airs as "Across the Western Ocean," "Run, Let the Bulljine Run!" "Shanadoah," "Old Stormy," "Bully in the Alley," "Cheerily, Men!" and scores besides; they were the first to lighten the sailor's labor by bidding him lift up his voice when he hove or shoved; they imported into their commercial marine fifty useful time- and labor-saving ingenuities, all which we on our side, blind with the scaly salt of centuries of dogged seagoing, were very slow to see, to apprehend, and to apply. But the imaginations, the inventions, of the American nautical mind seemed to have come to a stand at the Sign of the Harness Cask.

American judgment in matters maritime showed strong at a

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very early period in the history of the republic. We believed on our side that we had reason to laugh at the Yankees' pretensions as sailors, and a bloody lesson was the penalty of our royal naval scorn. That we should have underrated their courage and seamanship is the more extraordinary in that, after some of our ships had been sunk or taken, we discovered that the majority of the fighting crews of the enemy were British seamen! Now, there is no question that a large number of British sailors did enter the American Navy at the beginning of the century. Many British ships were paid off during the short peace of 1803, and numbers of English seamen from these vessels entered under the flag of the republic at the various seaport towns in the United States, at Cadiz, and the Mediterranean ports. Scores of these gentry fought against their country in 1812: it cannot be denied. But I observe this inconsistency in the statements of the historians of that time: when the English are beaten, the opposing ship is more than half manned by British sailors; when the American ship surrenders, her crew are discovered to be, to within a man or two, splendid examples of the pick of American seamen! In the case of the "Chesapeake" and the "Shannon," James is not satisfied with the swift and signal victory; he tells us that the "Shannon's" crew were men below the middle stature, and numbers of them old or elderly: the "Chesapeake's" men, on the other hand, were the finest that ever graced a ship's decks; and as a proof of their noble proportions "the handcuffs that had been placed upon the 'Chesapeake's' deck ready to secure the British crew as soon as the 'Shannon' was captured, caused, when applied to the wrists of the Americans, many of them to wince with pain." So in the case of the action between the U. S. S. "United States" and H. B. M. S. "Macedonian," in which the British were defeated; we affirm—or we allow Mr. William James to affirm for us—that the crew of the "United States" consisted of picked seamen, all young and vigorous, and a great proportion "were known to be British sailors." But when the U. S. S. "Frolic" hauled down her flag to H. B. M. schooner "Shelburne" without firing a shot, "happily no British sailor was discovered on board the 'Frolic.' Her crew consisted of native Americans, and in appearance a finer set of men than even the ships of war of the United States usually sailed with." The English of all this is that when we are beaten

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we must be beaten by our own men—renegados if you will, but—British sailors.

The truth is, the American sailor was every jot as good as the English sailor. It is a distinction without a difference to speak of Englishmen and Americans in 1812 and in 1776. The American is far removed from the Englishman now: in those old fighting years they were cousins; they were brothers in a sense considerably different from what is meant by "kinsman" in its current mawkish and insincere application. The rival Jacks might have been born in the same English towns, might have drained the breasts of sisters, so close were they in blood *then*. Yet there is this to be said of those wars, and more particularly of the War of 1812, kinsmen or no kinsmen: the Americans, by capturing the "Guerriere," made us look to ourselves; determined us upon an era of renovation: we found it desirable to improve our ships in men, gunnery, and appointments. The Americans were before us and fired several ugly broadsides of lessons into our massive and self-complacent understanding.

It is consistent that the nation which rose with marvellous celerity to the marine commercial supremacy that is indicated in the tonnage statistics of the United States of 1860 should have produced for her literature the men whose revelations, as I choose to call them, are a distinct ennoblement of letters, whether English or whether American, in the name of art, and in the name of genius, and in the name of humanity. "Two Years Before the Mast" should have been written by an Englishman: nothing of the kind was ever attempted by an Englishman. Was it because we have a trick of snubbing the sailors of the merchant service on our side, so that no man of Dana's and Melville's genius would dream of taking the little forecastle of a brig seriously as a theatre for his comedy or tragedy? Was it because it was felt that the people of the greatest maritime country in the world are, were, and ever have been, and methinks will be, unable to distinguish between the common sailor who serves the state and the common sailor who serves the private owner, and that the effort to discriminate could but tend to a groping confusion of the public mind? Or was it because the English take no possible interest whatever in the calling of the merchant-mariner, in all that that calling implies of tyranny, cruelty, frightful indifference to life, food at which a dog would hiccough, sleeping

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abodes from which a water rat would fly lest he drown, a wage which yields no hope beyond the workhouse, and a working-day of twenty-four hours ?

Two American sailors, men of letters and of genius, seizing the pen for a handspike, prized open the sealed lid under which the merchant-seaman lay caverned. The light of heaven fell down the open hatch, and the story of what had been happening for centuries in the British service, for years in the American, was read. Did any good come of it ? I should have to ask your patience for a much longer paper than this to answer *that* question. But as a literary feat ! in an age, too, when men thought most things known. Americans ! honor your Dana and your Melville. Greater geniuses your literature has produced, but none who have done work so memorable in the history of their native letters.

W. Clark Russell.

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CAN OUR NATIONAL BANKS BE MADE SAFER?

BY THE HON. EDWARD S. LACEY, COMPTROLLER OF THE CURRENCY.

THE national banking system was organized under an act of Congress passed in 1863, upon the recommendation of the Hon. Salmon P. Chase, then Secretary of the Treasury, who chiefly sought to create a market for bonds of the government and to provide a uniform bank-note currency, national in its character, and amply secured, which would circulate at par in every part of the Union. Two years later (October 2, 1865) 1,513 national banks were in operation, possessing an aggregate capital of $393,157,206 and $723,281,252 of deposits. The growth of the system has since been continuous and its success conspicuous. It is worthy of note, however, that the rapid payment of the bonded debt and the consequent high premium commanded by government bonds have rendered the issue of circulating notes upon pledge of these securities unremunerative, so that this feature of the system, so important when inaugurated, is yearly becoming less so. As banks of discount and deposit, however, the associations constituting the national system have become indispensable to the commercial and business interests of the country.

On the 25th day of September, 1891, 3,677 national banks were in operation, having in paid-up capital $677,426,870, and in surplus and undivided profits $330,861,160, with deposits aggregating $2,040,633,924. The system has been in operation for nearly twenty-nine years, and during that period has passed through all the vicissitudes of war and peace, adversity and prosperity. It will be pertinent, therefore, to inquire as to the degree of success achieved, before endeavoring to answer the

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question submitted for consideration. On the 31st of last October 4,648 banks had entered the national system, 164 had become insolvent, and 791 had gone into voluntary liquidation, paying their liabilities in full. The failures were equal, numerically, to about 3½ per cent. for a period of twenty-nine years. Of insolvent banks the affairs of 102 had been finally settled, representing $28,544,992 of proved claims, upon which the creditors have received $21,172,956, leaving a net loss to depositors of $7,372,036. The affairs of 62 banks are in process of settlement, representing claims proved to the amount of $29,247,036, on which has been paid $17,456,167, leaving assets estimated at $3,702,925 yet to be distributed, involving a loss to creditors of $8,087,944. It will be observed that the losses to creditors of national banks during the twenty-nine years of the existence of the system, taking into account the amounts ascertained and the amounts estimated, aggregate $15,459,980, or an average of $533,103 per annum. The average amount of the liabilities of all national banks since 1863 approximates $1,055,434,022, and upon this sum the annual average loss to creditors for the period of twenty-nine years has been only one-twentieth of 1 per cent. The creditors of banks whose affairs have been finally closed have received, on an average, 74.17 per cent., the cost of administration being 9.28 per cent. Of those closed during the last five years the creditors have received, on an average, 90.65 per cent., the attendant expenses being 4.08 per cent.

In considering the security of national banks, as compared with others, we are embarrassed by the fact that official data are not accessible as to banks other than national. The report of Comptroller of the Currency Knox for 1879, however, contains statistics, from partly official sources, showing the failure of 210 State banks during the three years ended January 1, 1879, having liabilities of $88,440,028, with losses to creditors of $32,616,661, or an average loss of $10,872,220 for each of these years. A prominent commercial agency* furnishes a list of 117 institutions, consisting of bankers, brokers, savings-banks, trust companies, and banks other than national, which failed during the year ended June 30, 1891, representing losses to creditors of $17,477,419, an amount in excess of the total losses of all the banks of the national system for twenty-nine years.

*Bradstreet's.

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It is worthy of note that under the National Bank Act we have what is known as free banking, it being competent for any five reputable persons, acting in good faith, to procure a franchise. While this provision is in harmony with our free institutions and is a necessary feature of any enactment calculated to meet the approval of the public, it nevertheless renders it reasonably certain that the management of these associations will sometimes be committed to persons lacking in experience, and occasionally to those wanting in integrity. Again, banks may be organized with a capital of only $50,000, which facilitates the establishment of associations in places too small to give adequate support, and occasionally tends to promote unhealthy competition. These features may not be conducive to the very highest degree of safety, but they prevent monopoly and enable the general public, even in sparsely-settled regions, to enjoy the advantages afforded by well-conducted banks. The growing popularity of the system is an evidence of its conspicuously faithful service. The annual average accessions during the past five years have numbered 213, which is 53 in excess of the annual average for the entire period since the inauguration of the system. These cover the entire country, new organizations, however, being most numerous in the undeveloped portion west of the Mississippi River. The speculative spirit which has prevailed in that region has not contributed to the safety of these new associations, and the recent reaction has been a potent factor in precipitating the disasters of the year just closed. Nevertheless, the losses recorded above appear inconsiderable when contrasted with the immense volume of business transacted.

In the report of the Comptroller of the Currency for 1891 it is shown that the amount of domestic exchange drawn by all national banks during the year ended June 30 last aggregates $12,782,212,495. This vast sum represents the transfer of bank credits necessary to simply adjust the balances arising out of trade relations between the various sections of the country. Comptroller Knox in 1881, and the writer again in 1890, procured reports from all national banks, stating their receipts upon given days, so classified as to show the proportion of actual money which entered into their daily transactions. The facts thus elicited, taking the average of two days in 1881 and two days in 1890, show that only 6.94 per cent. of actual money was employed, the

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remainder being represented by checks, drafts, and other substitutes for money. It appears, therefore, that of the transactions liquidated through these banks, 93.06 per cent. is accomplished by the use of bank credits. Further use of data thus obtained enables us to make an intelligent estimate as to the magnitude of the business transacted by these associations. It is shown that the receipts of 3,364 national banks on the first day of July, 1890, aggregate $421,824,726. If we take $421,000,000 as an average of their daily transactions and multiply this by 307, as the number of business days in the year, it will be found that the total receipts of these banks for a single year aggregate $129,247,000,000, or a sum greatly in excess of the estimated value of all the real and personal property of Great Britain and the United States combined. If we consider with what economy and safety the immense business thus outlined is transacted, it will be apparent that we have already reached a condition of safety in banking not heretofore realized. The ideal bank is an institution of absolute security. Although the operations of more than a quarter of a century have demonstrated that associations organized under the National Bank Act approximate more nearly than any other to this ideal condition, it may be admitted, without humiliation, that further progress in this direction is attainable. Those whose duty it has been to administer the provisions of the act in question, as they have studied them and watched their application to actual business, have been more and more impressed with the great wisdom of its authors.

In the consideration of measures looking to the greater safety of national banks, it should be borne in mind that 96½ per cent. of these associations have in this respect met the requirements of the most exacting; hence any new restrictions to be imposed should be directed toward preventing loss to the creditors of the remaining 3½ per cent., without imperilling the general success attained. As previously stated, under present conditions no material profit can accrue to national banks by reason of the issue of notes for circulation, and therefore any onerous restrictions might cause many national associations, now successfully and honestly managed, to withdraw from the system and incorporate under the laws of the several States. Similar consideration must be bestowed upon various propositions submitted for greatly increasing the liability of directors for losses which occur under

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their management. It is well known that bank directors are not salaried officers and that their services are usually rendered gratuitously; hence, in the large cities especially, it is with great difficulty that men of high character and great ability are induced to accept these positions, because of the labor involved, the loss of time, and the grave responsibility. Any enactment that would unnecessarily increase the pecuniary responsibility of directors, and place in jeopardy their private fortunes, would no doubt cause the withdrawal from these positions of those most efficient, and cause their places to be filled by men in every way their inferiors, thus aggravating, instead of palliating, the evil resulting from the present lack of attention and efficiency on the part of directors. Certainly no radical innovations should be adopted under the pressure of temporary excitement at the risk of destroying the most effective system of which we have any knowledge.

As a general proposition it may be stated that the success of a bank is dependent upon the integrity and ability of its active officers. Neither legal enactments nor official supervision can create these qualities, although the former serve to deter the wrong-doer and the latter to educate the inexperienced. Whatever, therefore, tends to induce greater care in the selection of these officers by boards of directors will enhance the safety of the system. Experience demonstrates, also, that safety is promoted by a proper distribution of shares. In a general way success is jeopardized where the holdings of capital stock are so widely distributed as to prevent the active supervision of intelligent proprietorship, or so concentrated in the hands of a few as to make possible selfish or corrupt control. Safety ought to be the paramount consideration in bank management. As a rule, this principle is recognized by managers. The exceptions, however, are made so conspicuous by disaster as to give them more prominence than their relative importance warrants. Many dangers menacing these associations are due to mistakes in judgment entirely consistent with complete integrity and the scrupulous observance of legal requirements. Loans are always an accomplished fact before they come to the knowledge of the Comptroller or examiner, and hence serious losses have often become inevitable before official action could be taken. It is obvious that the governmental authorities cannot conduct a banking business,

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—they can only inspect and supervise. The National Bank Act is mainly confined, so far as it relates to the transaction of the business of banking, to the imposition of restrictions, leaving the managers of an association free to act within established limits. So long, therefore, as bank officers are deficient in judgment or integrity failures will occur. That system is best which reduces these disasters to the minimum.

In order that we may more intelligently select the remedies to apply, it will be well to consider the prominent causes of failures and their relative importance, as disclosed by an investigation of the affairs of national banks which have heretofore become insolvent. These are stated below in the order of their relative importance, which is indicated by percentages :

1. Depreciation of securities	27.0
2. Injudicious banking	22.7
3. Fraudulent management	18.3
4. Defalcation of officers	9.0
5. Excessive loans to officers and directors	7.1
6. Real estate and real-estate loans	6.8
7. Excessive loans to customers	5.0
8. Failure of large debtors	4.1
	100.0

The classifications adopted are necessarily general in their character, but are sufficiently explicit to facilitate the grouping of certain remedies suggested by experience, and herewith submitted in outline for consideration.

DEPRECIATION OF SECURITIES.

The law should forbid the purchase by national banks of shares of any incorporated company as an investment, and should require the prompt sale of all shares taken to secure doubtful debts. Investments in bonds issued by such corporations should be subject to the same limitations as to amount as may be applied to direct loans to individuals.

INJUDICIOUS BANKING.

Injudicious banking includes, in a general way, such violations of the rules of good banking as do not involve disobedience of law. The remedy rests with the boards of directors, who should exercise greater care in selecting officers, and employ greater diligence in instructing and supervising them.

FRAUDULENT MANAGEMENT.

The presence of fraud taints far too many failures. This indicates the existence of over-confidence on the part of directors and

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the necessity of more exhaustive examinations. A proper division of duties, occasional changes of desks among employees, and a systematic and thorough audit of the affairs of the bank by expert accountants of known skill and integrity, will greatly reduce the losses from this cause.

DEFALCATION OF OFFICERS.

Considering the vast sums handled by and the confidence necessarily reposed in bank officers, defalcations are comparatively rare. The severe condemnation visited by the public upon criminality of this character is the best proof of its infrequency. Crime, like disease, is usually insidious in its development, and often exists for years unsuspected. No panacea in such cases can be provided. It is a significant fact that, aside from cases of accidental discovery or voluntary confession, crimes of this character are almost invariably detected by the bank examiner, whose visits are brief and infrequent, and not by the directors, whose continuous supervision is too frequently superficial and perfunctory. The antecedents, habits, associations, and financial necessities of those who handle bank funds must be patiently investigated by directors who would do their whole duty, and severe discrimination enforced against those who fail to meet the most exacting requirements. Only unremitting vigilance and unrelenting prosecution of the guilty can be relied upon to limit an evil that cannot be entirely eradicated.

EXCESSIVE LOANS TO OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS.

Losses from this source may be largely curtailed by the adoption of an amendment to the present law forbidding the active officers or employees from becoming liable, directly or indirectly, to the bank with which they are connected. The liability of directors also should be, by law, made subject to reasonable limitations as to both loans and discounts, inclusive of indorsements and guarantees for the accommodation of others.

REAL ESTATE AND REAL-ESTATE LOANS.

As original loans upon real estate are forbidden by law, and the purchase of real property confined to such as is taken for debt or purchased for use as a banking-house, it seems clear that losses stated under this head result in the main from securities taken as a last resort to secure doubtful debts originally made upon personal security. It is impossible to wholly prevent losses

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of this character. In my opinion, however, a limitation should be placed upon the amount which may be lawfully invested in banking-houses, as serious loss and sometimes insolvency result from locking up an undue proportion of the capital in realty, which is thus rendered unavailable at critical periods.

EXCESSIVE LOANS TO CUSTOMERS.

The liability to an association of any person, company, corporation, or firm for money borrowed is now limited by law to one-tenth of the capital paid in. This provision is in the main salutary, as applied to interior banks, but inapplicable to the conditions existing in many reserve cities. Its uniform enforcement is rendered difficult on account of the failure to provide an adequate penalty for its violation. The limitation should be based upon the combined capital and surplus, and made more liberal in reserve cities when applied to loans upon certain lines of first-class securities, including in this category warehouse receipts for staple commodities. This would more fully utilize the very best securities for bank loans and greatly facilitate the periodical movement of farm products so necessary to the general welfare of the entire people. Having properly adjusted these limitations, such reasonable penalty should be provided as would make practicable the uniform enforcement of the law, thereby promoting the safety of the banks and the interests of the general public.

FAILURE OF LARGE DEBTORS.

Under this classification are placed those losses which result from the discount of large lines of commercial and business paper, including bills of exchange drawn against actually existing values, as to which no limitation is now imposed by law. In my opinion, this omission should be supplied, and such bounds put upon transactions of this character as will make imperative a proper distribution of loans and discounts, thus preventing the solvency of a bank from being dependent upon the success or failure of one or more of its chief customers.

Having briefly considered the causes of failure and made such suggestions as seem pertinent, it may be proper to say that the most serious obstacle encountered in all endeavors to promote sound banking has been the inefficiency and inattention of directors. Whatever may be said of the legal aspect of the matter, in the light of recent decisions it is clear that the general

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public will continue to hold that power and responsibility are inseparable, and that no director can be morally justified in accepting an office and then utterly neglecting to discharge its duties. While it would undoubtedly be unwise to so increase the responsibility of directors as to render it impracticable to secure or retain the services of those most competent, it is nevertheless due to both stockholders and creditors, as well as to directors themselves, that the duties of the office should be by law clearly defined. Vast interests are intrusted to their care, and commensurate responsibility should rest somewhere. No plan for increasing the safety of our banks which permits directors to abdicate their powers while retaining office, and to avoid the responsibility for losses resulting from disobedience of law by pleading ignorance which could only result from the most persistent neglect, can meet the requirements of the situation.

The supervision exercised by the Bureau of the Currency is of very great value in promoting the safety of national banks. Under its direction the organization of an association is properly completed and the capital actually paid in. It is charged, among other things, with the duty of enforcing those provisions of law which require that loans shall be made upon personal security only; that a lawful money reserve shall be maintained; that a surplus fund shall be accumulated; that dividends shall not be declared until earned; that the total liabilities of any person, company, corporation, or firm for money borrowed shall not exceed one-tenth part of the capital paid in; that no association shall make any original loan or discount on the security of the shares of its own capital stock; that no check be certified in excess of the drawer's deposit; that reports of condition be made and published at least five times in each year; that circulating notes be issued and redeemed; that real estate taken for debt be disposed of within five years from date of acquirement; that any impairment of capital be made good by assessment upon shareholders; and that insolvent associations be promptly closed, and their assets converted into money and divided among creditors with diligence and economy. These salutary requirements have the sanction of the highest authority, and the unremitting efforts put forth by the Bureau, through correspondence and otherwise, to insure their enforcement, have largely contributed to the safety for which the system is conspicuous.

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In addition to the supervision exercised by means of correspondence, every association is visited at least once in each year by a bank examiner, who has power to make a thorough examination into all its affairs, and, in doing so, to examine any of the officers and agents thereof on oath. He is required to make a full and detailed report of the condition of the association to the Comptroller. This agency is more potent for good than any other at the command of the Comptroller. These examinations have for twenty-nine years been undergoing a process of evolution made necessary by the exigencies of the service, and it is believed that they are to-day more effective than ever before. The ingenuity of unfaithful bank officers is constantly employed in inventing new devices for concealing their unlawful acts. Hence increased vigilance and improved methods are being constantly demanded of examiners. The most valuable service performed by these officers consists in arresting dangerous and unlawful practices at the threshold. The extent to which the safety of the system is due to this timely interposition is, unfortunately, unknown to the general public. It is to be regretted that only failures can be publicly discussed.

So, also, the grave responsibilities devolved upon the Bureau of the Currency are very imperfectly understood. It is charged with the supervision of nearly 4,000 banks, covering a vast area of country in all stages of development. These associations are managed by persons of all grades of ability and experience, and are exposed to dangers of every type and character. In addition to interpreting and administering the law, a vast school of instruction is conducted. Inexperienced managers are instructed; the careless are warned; the indolent aroused, and the unscrupulous restrained. The best and the worst of bank management are daily passed in review, to the end that the good may be commended and the bad reformed. During years of severe business depression, like the one just closed, the financial disasters of a continent are epitomized in its correspondence and reports. The efficiency with which it has met these exigencies can be safely left to the decision of those who intelligently and dispassionately investigate recorded results.

It will be observed that the measures suggested as necessary to a greater degree of safety on the part of our national banks are neither numerous nor radical. The system has long since passed

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the experimental stage, and, despite ephemeral and injudicious criticism, it to-day stands firmly established in public confidence, and recognized as indisputably superior to any hitherto known.

In closing it may be said that its safety will be best promoted by adhering with increased fidelity to those sound principles which experience has approved, and which of necessity underlie all true success. To a marked degree these salutary maxims are found embodied in the law governing the national system. Local and exceptional conditions have made minor amendments desirable; yet, taken all in all, it has proved admirably adapted to the changed conditions developed by the experience of a quarter of a century, and well suited to the wants of the inhabitants of widely-separated States, living under varied social conditions, with customs as dissimilar as climatic and race conditions can produce upon this continent.

EDWARD S. LACEY.

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FIRES ON TRANS-ATLANTIC STEAMERS.*

BY THE RIGHT HON. EARL DE LA WARR.

WITHOUT being too much a *laudator temporis acti,* it may perhaps fairly be said, within the limits of truth, that accidents from travelling, attended often with loss of life, are far more frequent in the present day than in times gone by. No doubt a cause can readily be assigned for this. Facilities of locomotion formerly unknown are now offered to all classes, and thus increase the chances of casualties in an almost infinite degree. It cannot, however, be supposed that any one would desire to lessen or check the means of intercourse between one country and another, or to underrate the commercial benefits which it affords, the civilizing influences which it exercises, and the useful tendency which it has in overcoming national prejudices and antipathies; but what may reasonably be expected, while science and skill are almost daily increasing the means of communication between the nations of the world, is that the dangers consequent upon these advantages should not be disregarded and lost sight of.

To come, therefore, to the point which we wish to bring under public notice, it might be asked, Is it not somewhat difficult to understand that, in a matter affecting the lives of so large a number of persons, as well as property to a great extent, and which is at the same time immediately under the daily observation of trading companies involving large shipping interests, there should still exist a doubt as to the cause of one of the most destructive and calamitous disasters which can befall a ship,—a disaster which may result in its total loss, together with that of a valuable cargo, and—what is more—the sacrifice of hundreds of lives? In connection with this it is a startling fact that about

* The observations made in this article are emphasized by the recent burning at sea of the steamship "Abyssinia."—EDITOR N. A. R.

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200,000 cabin passengers leave the port of New York alone for Europe every year, of whom a large proportion are liable to dangers such as those to which the passengers of the "City of Richmond" were recently exposed.

It cannot be for a moment supposed that science or skill will ever overcome the special perils of the sea; but what reasonably may be looked for is that scientific knowledge should be made use of to prevent disasters such as that which took place on board the Inman liner "City of Richmond," so that the reproach may be wiped away that in the British Parliament in the year 1891 no satisfactory explanation of the cause of these fearful accidents could be given. That such should have been the case is the more extraordinary in these days when the application of scientific knowledge to practical purposes has been of such a marked character. It is not as if it had been a solitary instance or an accident of rare occurrence. When we find that in the last ten years there have been no less than one hundred and seventy-one fires in cotton-laden ships from America to British ports, that nearly four hundred lives were lost through cotton fires in holds of steamers in the year 1890, that there were during the years 1889 and 1890 nearly sixty fires of a serious nature on ocean-going steamers, besides numerous instances, frequently terminating in the total destruction of the vessels, of cotton fires on board American river and coasting steamers, and that not less that £150,000 is the estimated cost of insurance of cotton imported to England from America, it is certainly not a little surprising that more information is not available, and that more attempts have not been made to arrive at the causes of these serious calamities, so damaging to commercial interests, and so perilous to the lives of the many thousands of passengers who every year cross the Atlantic.

Since, then, there are such grave doubts as to the origin of fires in cotton-laden ships, there seems to be good reason for specially drawing attention to the serious danger to which passengers in those ships are exposed, and also to point out that, unless the causes of those fires can be discovered and remedies applied, it may become the duty of the legislature to take some steps to regulate, or, if necessary, to prevent, the carrying of passengers in ships laden with cargoes of inflammable substances.

Let us now briefly refer to the accident on board the "City of

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Richmond." This vessel left New York on the 3d of June, 1891, bound for Liverpool, with a crew of 146 hands and 298 passengers, with a general cargo, consisting chiefly of 1,000 quarters of fresh meat and 2,082 bales of cotton. It appears from the report of the surveyor of the Board of Trade at Liverpool that a large proportion of the cotton was carried under the cabin floor, and that the length of the space on fire was about one hundred feet. After the vessel had been seven days at sea, on the 10th of June, in latitude 46 degrees 9 minutes north, longitude 35 degrees 34 minutes west, at midnight, when a heavy sea was raging, a passenger gave an alarm of fire, and smoke was seen issuing from the cabin. The ship was soon found to be on fire in the hold where the cotton was stowed, under where the passengers were sleeping, and had not the deck over the cotton been of iron, it is believed that the vessel could not have reached a port of safety. The imminent danger is described by a passenger as follows :

"Whilst the storm was at its height, about midnight, a lady passenger was awakened from her sleep by the intensity of the heat and by the fumes of smoke. She immediately called a steward, and it was found that the floor was so hot that a fire of some kind was in the hold near by. . . . Portions of the crew endeavored to get at the burning bales of cotton, but the men were almost suffocated in their endeavors to do so. . . . Captain Redford, being aware of the serious nature of the fire, now ordered the stewards to rouse all the passengers and get them up on deck. . . . When I got up on deck, the crew were running to and fro preparing boats for launching, and the stewards were providing six days' rations for each passenger. It was a fearful night. The wind was screeching as it swept through the vessel's rigging, and seas were washing across the decks. . . . The suspense all through that night was something terrible."

Providentially, at length ships were sighted, and after four days the "City of Richmond" was brought to Liverpool without loss of life, with the fire still burning.

Now, it is probable that few of the many hundred passengers who cross the Atlantic are aware of the danger they are incurring. It is a danger not apparent; a danger far more to be dreaded in its probable consequences than the ordinary perils of the sea; a danger unthought of, because unknown; a danger, it is supposed, which a drop of oil or a current of air may originate and cause to burst forth at any moment. But great as may be the difficulty of arriving at any satisfactory results as regards the causes of cotton fires in ships, we confess that we are at a loss to understand how it is that more attention has not been given to

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the subject; how it is that the great interests affected by it remain almost quiescent when the safety of many lives are involved in it, and when so large an amount of property and insurance is concerned. If it had not been brought to our attention by the recent discussion in the British Parliament that comparatively little is known with regard to the causes of fires in cotton-laden ships, we might have hesitated to believe it possible that the trading interests of America, India, and other cotton-growing countries should have been so long contented, in these days of advancement in scientific knowledge, to leave such an important question unsolved. We are aware that there are laws compelling passenger steamers that leave ports in the United States to be fitted with pipes for injecting steam into their holds in the event of fire occurring in them, and that British passenger steamers have adopted the same system; but this provision has been found insufficient in the case of American as well as of British vessels. As an instance of this, it may be noticed that in the case of the "City of Richmond," after the injection of steam for several days, upon opening the hold after the arrival of the ship at Liverpool the fire was found to be raging fiercely.*

Now, in connection with this it is important to observe that the interests of underwriters do not seem to lie in the direction of assisting in the introduction of means of doing away with one of the principal dangers which it is their business to insure against, and there is reason to believe that a somewhat similar view is taken by passenger steamship companies—that it would not do for them to adopt expensive apparatus for extinguishing fires unless it was made compulsory upon all to do so. Upon the whole, it seems that the conclusion must be come to that there has been no very serious endeavor to ascertain the true cause of these disasters, which, it would seem most probable, have arisen from more causes than one. It has been stated that the mode of packing may account for some cases of cotton fires, and in support of this view it is found that the fires occur but rarely in shipments from India. It appears that about 6,000,000 hundredweight of cotton is shipped yearly from India to England, that during the nine years up to 1887 only four fires

* It would be wrong to suppose that no attempts have been made to grapple with this serious danger, especially in cotton-laden ships. The successful experiments made with Carver's apparatus for extinguishing fires in ships' holds must be well known by all who have given their attention to the subject.

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occurred in ships with cotton cargoes, and that since then there has not been a single fire in any cotton cargo from India. Relative to this the Parliamentary Secretary of the Board of Trade recently said in the House of Lords :

> "I am inclined to infer that the danger is not necessarily inherent in the cotton, but is probably due to some different circumstances of treatment or packing. It is an absolutely admitted fact by almost every court of inquiry held under the Board of Trade, by the committee of Lloyds', and by committees which have sat in America, that the packing of cotton there and its transit from the cotton-growing districts to the port are not nearly so satisfactory in America as in other places, especially in India."

Evidence of a similar kind to this was given not long ago at the Board of Trade inquiry into the loss of the National liner "Egypt." It was stated that in the previous two seasons there had been seventy-seven fires in ships carrying cotton, and that forty-four had broken out after the vessels had sailed. The imperfect packing and banding of American cotton, and also the method of sampling, the cutting into the bales and leaving the exposed places in a rough state, were considered to be one of the causes of fires, and it was said that a more closely woven material for packing, closer pressing, and the use of an increased number of bands, as is customary in the Egyptian and Indian cotton trades, would prove an effectual check.* Various other causes of danger in connection with packing have been suggested, such as contact with some kinds of oil or grease, also cotton waste, so much used in steamships, and especially cotton-seed oil, the production of which has been much increased, and which is liable to rapid oxidization and consequent combustion. But none of these suggestions seems to solve the question in a satisfactory manner, and little has comparatively been done.

The important fact ought, however, to be mentioned, that about a century ago fires were of far more frequent occurrence than now in ships with cotton cargoes from India. In 1842 it is recorded that four cotton ships were burnt in Bombay Harbor. It is also a fact worthy of notice that out of one hundred and seventy-one fires which occured in ships carrying cotton from America in the last ten years, eighty-one occurred in the port of lading, forty-five in the port of discharge, and forty-five during the voyage. But although we are almost driven to the conclus-

* Liverpool *Journal of Commerce*, Dec. 20, 1889.

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ion that cotton will at times, under certain circumstances, generate sufficient heat to produce combustion, notwithstanding the experience of years we seem to be almost as far as ever from knowing the actual cause, and therefore from being able to prevent it or to apply the proper remedy in the event of a fire taking place. It seems that in the case of the "City of Richmond" the vessel was fitted with apparatus for injecting steam into the hold where the cotton was stowed, and, though it had the effect of checking, it did not extinguish the fire, which broke out afresh when the ship arrived at Liverpool.

From what has been stated, especially as regards the difference in the number of fires which occur in cotton cargoes from America and India—that, while in ships from America the number is large, fires are of rare occurrence in ships from India—it is not unlikely that a comparison of the modes of lading and stowage might lead to important results, and show that while in the one case the ship is carrying, as it were, the means for her own destruction, which may almost at any moment be brought into action, and which, in case of a passenger ship, may place many lives in the most imminent peril, there would in the other case be comparative safety. The comparison might also tend in some measure to remedy the evil by showing that it is not inherent in the cotton itself, but rather in the mode of packing and stowage, and that it results from circumstances external to it, which might be regulated or rendered harmless. The subject is one of the greatest importance when it is borne in mind that about two hundred thousand cabin passengers leave the port of New York alone for Europe every year in ships carrying cotton; and when we find that the imports of cotton from the United States in the year ending December 30, 1890, amounted to 2,888,997 bales, the value of each bale being about £10, the magnitude of the trade, and the necessity of its regulation with regard to the safety of passengers and the security of property, may in some measure be realized.*

In conclusion, we may express a hope that the serious accident which befell the "City of Richmond," and which was prov-

* It is said to be not an uncommon thing for the White Star liners "Majestic" and "Teutonic" to leave New York Harbor with over a thousand souls on board. As a matter of fact, the "Majestic" sailed from New York in July, 1890, with 1,500 souls on board. These giant steamers generally carry large cargoes of cotton. In August, 1890, a fire occurred on board the "Majestic," amongst the cotton cargo, a short time before the vessel sailed.

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identially terminated without loss of life, may not be without some good result, and that the shipping and trading companies who have such great interests at stake will themselves adopt measures that will render unnecessary any legislative interference, and at the same time restore confidence in the public mind as regards the safety of passengers crossing the Atlantic on the powerful and well-appointed ships which form the links of social and commercial intercourse between Europe and the great continent of the West.

DE LA WARR.

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THE DUTY AND DESTINY OF ENGLAND IN INDIA.

BY SIR EDWIN ARNOLD, KNIGHT COMMANDER OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE AND COMPANION OF THE STAR OF INDIA.

ISOLATED by their self-completeness and continental seclusion, the inhabitants of the great republic possess, I think, only an imperfect comprehension of the extent and importance of India, and of the nature and scope of British administration in that Asiatic world. They themselves touch no Oriental races, are perturbed by no Oriental problems, and in their national policies have no account to take of Oriental feelings and aspirations. The "Indians" of whom alone they know are as different from the people of Hindustan as one branch of the human tree can possibly be from another; and those other "colored persons" with whom they have to do—Africans, not Asiatics—represent only for them the memory of a great historical fault, and of a sublime and sorrowful expiation; as well as perpetually presenting to them a dark and difficult problem for the future. There is next to no trade between India and the United States, and the wonderful peninsula itself is, as far as geographical remoteness goes, at the longitudinal antipodes for all travelling Americans. Thus, it is not surprising if somewhat confused ideas are held here regarding the Indian dominions of Queen Victoria; and if erroneous and sometimes even unjust notions upon the British occupation exist among the public writers of the States.

Yet it is extremely desirable that the vast, powerful, and enlightened trans-Atlantic portion of the Anglo-Saxon family should truly understand what is the magnificent charge laid in Asia by Providence upon the shoulders of the cis-Atlantic portion of the breed, and how that charge has been, and is being, fulfilled. Personally I could wish with all my heart that many, very many, Americans, instead of few, as at present, would visit the land. The majority of them would come back, I know, full of a new

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sense of the noble task which England performs towards all those scores of millions of their Aryan relations—since the people of India proper are really very nearly akin to our Anglo-Saxon blood; much more closely, indeed, than, say, the Hungarians, the southern Italians, or the Russians. Many a word in constant use among New Yorkers or Bostonians is of direct Sanskrit origin; many an intimate, familiar philosophical or religious thought has come straight to them from the scrolls of the Vedas or the teachings of ancient Hindu sages; and if it were possible, at a stroke, to cancel from daily life in these American cities, or in our own, the elements due to Indian metaphysics and Indian mental influences, the gap caused would enormously astonish the unreflecting. Moreover, on the friendly and imperial side, as a sister people of our speech and of our mighty common line, the American Republic has a special share in the British control of India, and in the prodigious effect which our sway over it exercises on the imagination of the world and upon the fate of Asia. For these reasons, and others, it is heartily to be desired that the public opinion of your great country should rightly comprehend the duty and destiny of England in India, and I gladly avail myself of the honor of an invitation from the conductor of THE REVIEW to offer herewith a humble contribution of facts and generalizations towards such an end.

For example, I have read during the recent talk about India, in connection with the temporary trouble in the Pamir, articles in American papers, lightly and carelessly—but, of course, cleverly—penned, as if it were an indifferent matter to civilization generally, and to Americans in particular, whether Russia should ever seriously challenge the British possession of India and perhaps even some day succeed in ousting us from the peninsula. In reality, such an event, could it befall, would prove the direst occurrence for human progress—and indirectly for the United States themselves—since the overthrow of the Roman Empire by the barbarians. It would be the triumph of the Slav over the Saxon, and would set back the development of Asia, and the advancement of the human race generally, at least a thousand years. I can imagine some of the clever young newspaper men, whom I have been everywhere glad to meet, responding in familiar local phrase to this: "Well, but it would not be *our* funeral!" In this respect they would find out their mistake if they should

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live long enough. The loss of India to England would mean the breaking-up and decay of our ancient empire; the eventual spread of Slavonic and Mongolian hordes all over the vacant places and open markets of the world; the world's peace gone; again, as in days of Belisarius, the march of sciences, arts, religions, arrested as when Omar burned the Alexandrian Library; and history once more put back to the beginning of a new effort, under novel and gloomy auspices, to effect that which is the perpetual object of its course and its combinations—the final amalgamation of all the peoples of the globe under one law and one common faith and culture.

That "real estate" in Kansas City, where I am writing these pages, would suffer from a decisive victory won over Her Majesty's troops by a Russian army inside India is more, indeed, than I venture to affirm; but I am quite sure of two facts: one that such a disaster would be as bad a thing for Americans in the long run as for Englishmen, for Hindus, and for the people of Islam; and the other that it will not happen, because—thanks be to God!—Her Majesty Queen Victoria's strength in India, material and moral, is amply sufficient to-day to guarantee the security and tranquillity of the stupendous charge it bears there against any force, and any combination of forces, likely to be brought forward in challenge of the Empress of India.

The way in which we acquired this immense appanage of the British Empire is often made a matter of reproach, and not, of course, without grounds; but chiefly by those least thoroughly informed of all the facts. If there is to be no statute of limitations in history; if all the title-deeds of states are to stand vitiated when any ancient wrong, or violence, or selfishness, or insincerity can be proved against them, then, indeed, I should have to own our Indian possessions forfeit, and the map of the world must be also remodelled from pole to pole. Not alone Clive, Warren Hastings, and Lord Dalhousie must be arraigned and condemned at the bar of international equity, but the Pilgrim Fathers, and Penn the Apostle, and Columbus himself.

In point of fact, our Indian Empire was forced upon us by the irresistible current of events. It began in the utmost simplicity, with a merchant's charter and with a doctor's prescription! Some London traders got a monopoly of buying and selling goods at the mouth of the Ganges, as well as at

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Bombay and Surat; and were doing a quiet wholesale and retail business when one of their doctors cured the Great Mogul Ferozeshah of a boil on his back, and the princess, his daughter, of a fever. For a fee he received the land where Calcutta now stands, and sold it cheap to his company, who erected a factory there called Fort William. After that the merchants became princes in spite of their earnest effort to remain brokers. To protect themselves against the misrule and lawlessness of the Bengal Sonbadhars, culminating in such terrible and unfortunate outrages as the "Black Hole," they were obliged to build strongholds, occupy stations, and enlist soldiers. They were drawn into wars against their will, successively with the French, the Mahrattas, the Mohammedans of the Carnatic, of Beejapore, of the Northwest, etc., not less than with roving Pindarries, restless Madrassees, and powerful piratical enemies on the sea. As they grew perforce greater and richer, and the central business house in London appointed, one after the other, those famous satraps, called governors-general, it is notable and almost comic to read how the court of directory, upon his nomination, strictly charged each of these magnates in succession to keep out of conflicts, and not under any circumstances to acquire any fresh territory; and how each of them, having stoutly protested at the farewell banquet in the "House" on Cornhill that he intended to bring home an undrawn sword, sent despatches after a year or two, by the long sea route, to say with deep contrition that he had been obliged to defeat a formidable potentate and to annex a splendid province.

In this reluctant and fated way the "Company Bahadur," augmenting time after time by kingdoms and states, increased to its later imperial and commanding proportions, until it ended by gaining the golden prize of Indian sovereignty from all the eager aspirants who had disputed it: from the French, the Portuguese, the Mogul, the Mahratta, the Madras Islamites, the Punjab Sikhs, the predatory robber princes, and even from some of these dangerously allied. The Olympic garland of all the world's glories, contended for from the days of Alexander the Great to those of Avitabile, Lally, Dupleix, and Tippu Saheb, thus fell at last to that band of respectable and pacific city merchants, who started an empire with a physician's prescription, and established a commerce of hundreds of millions sterling with an original

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order to their agents at Calcutta "to procure a dozen lbs. of the best tay ye can gett." Nor did they undeserve or misuse that extraordinary and brilliant fortune to any serious or criminal extent. The eloquent thunders of Burke and Sheridan against the great lieutenants of the company were, in reality, largely rhetorical. Clive was better justified than the casual student of history deems when he exclaimed, referring to his impeachment: "By God! I am astonished, when I look back, at my own moderation!" Their grand succession of illustrious rulers—Cornwallis, Amherst, Wellesley, Auckland, Elphinstone, Munro, Dalhousie—all took, in their degree, the enthusiasm of service with which India inspires a man, gave solid peace and safety to the teeming population, and rooted out from the land innumerable ancient cruelties and abuses. It is notable how the recollection of those great and valorous servants of "John Company" still lives with gratitude and reverence among the people of Hindustan. In many a town and village you may see shrines and religious monuments erected to them, where the simple peasants offer daily gifts of rice and flowers, and you may hear to-day in the bazaars of Calcutta the black mothers singing to their children:

"*Hathi par howdah, ghora par jin,*
Juldi bahir jata Warin Hastin";

which means:

"The howdah on the elephant, the saddle on the steed,
And soon will Warren Hastings go riding forth with speed."

It was under that marvellous and masterful "John Company" that India silently but gratefully saw abolished "*sati,*" the burning of Hindu widows; "*thuggi,*" the organized assassination of travellers by the *roomal,* the handkerchief, of the Thugs; the dreadful and common practice of infanticide, once a general custom in certain provinces; the celebration of the *Meriah,* or human sacrifices to propitiate the gods of rural fertility; the countless and fantastic tyrannies practised by cruel princes on their subjects; the bitter tortures and exactions with which traders who had amassed wealth were persecuted; the holocausts of dying victims drowned daily in the name of religion on the banks of the Hoogli, and many other enormities of the preceding times. Generous in a princely way to their servants, easy with their subjects, liberal and large-minded in council, fearless and im-

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placable in war, well-meaning and conscientious in administration, the "Company Bahadur" made for itself in its one hundred years of Oriental sway a name which has rendered commerce imperial, and has, as before in Corinth and Venice, robed traffic in the purple of royalty. It became among the natives a majestic abstraction, something divine, mysterious, and omnipotent, which they worshipped like *Kali*, the Goddess of Power and Terror. It shared with the British throne the task of ruling the Asiatic Empire, and its proconsuls regularly reported, mail after mail, by "double entry," to the sovereign at St. James's and to the chairman of the Honorable East India Company in the City. But the sword which it had forged to serve and sustain it—the Sepoy Army—broke in its still vigorous grasp through carelessness and inadvertence; and the home government, which was obliged to step in with all the might of the realm to save it, succeeded inevitably to the lapsed estates of its sway.

I myself had the never-to-be-regretted and never-to-be-forgotten honor of serving the Honorable East India Company in its Educational Department, and was present at the table of the Governor of Bombay, Lord Elphinstone, on the memorable night when, at Kirkee, in the Deccan, he read aloud to a brilliant company of administrators, public officials, and military and financial officers collected round him, the proclamation transferring British India from the company to the crown. Deep as our devotion was to the Queen's Majesty, and grateful as we all were that those two years of darkness and danger lately traversed had passed away, bringing safety, sunshine, and stronger securities than ever, the emotion produced by that ceremony was extraordinary. I wistfully saw, on that proud and sad evening, renowned old veterans of the wars weeping openly, and gray-haired officials of the famous company, when attempting to speak, choked with their crowding memories. It was the demise of a veritable and mighty potentate at which we assisted; the passing-away of an association of empire-making traders, greater than the proud burghers of the Hague, than the Hanseatic Leaguers, nay, than the Council of Ten itself when, from ocean-throned Venice,

"Thrice did she hold the gorgeous East in fee."

I was in India during that great mutiny of 1857, and, of course, saw and heard things which I prefer now to forget; for we were but a few "Saheb lôk" among many and ferocious ene-

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mies, and the typical Englishman "cornered" is no saint. But, also, I saw and heard at that dark time things good to remember in the way of perfect fidelity and fast affection between the races; and, as a matter of fact, the population at large were never, for a moment, against us. Had they been, we must have disappeared as sand castles do before the roll of the sea breakers. A Mahratta *shikari*, one of my hunting servants, casually remarked to me once in the jungle, when we were chatting about the "Sircar": "If we should spit at you altogether and with one mouth, Saheb! we should drown all you English"; and of course that was coarsely true. The mutiny was, however, not Indian, but Mohammedan in origin and essence, and only by the scandal of the "greased cartridges" through the pampered spirit of the high-caste Hindu soldiers, did the Muslims get the Hindus to act with them for once, albeit, if successful, they would have instantly set to work to cut each others' throats. Such an event as that alliance, and the consequent outbreak, is next to impossible again, because communications are now made perfect, the British forces in India are maintained at a scale commandingly strong, and the artillery ever since the mutiny has been kept wholly in British hands.

Moreover, with that mutiny and with the rule of "John Company" terminated the era of annexation; and, partly on that account, ever since then the independent native princes have become heartily loyal, and will remain so, while we deserve their loyalty by our strength, our justice, and our resolution to maintain the peace and prosperity of the land. The Queen's name is to-day far greater and more potent in Hindustan than was even the company's, and "*Maharani Kajai*"—"Victory for the Empress!"—is a battle-cry which would be shouted joyfully by all the warlike races of Rajpootana, Kattiawar, the Punjab, the Deccan, and even the Mohammedan Northwest, if in any crisis Her Majesty chose to admit the chivalry of the native courts to her active service. The regular native army, by which I imply our Sepoy regiments, horse and foot, is in excellent condition to-day as to drill and discipline, and side by side with its English comrades, and led by British officers, would perform doughty deeds of valor, albeit the English officers are by no means numerous enough.

As to the courage of the Sepoy, it is not to be doubted, so long as he has white leadership. I sat once with a detachment of the 25th N. Infantry of Bombay, just returned from the

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mutiny campaign under Sir Hugh Rose and Havelock. One among the gallant fellows had lost a hand. He did not tell me himself how it happened, but a comrade explained that Govind had led a party of stormers to a fortress gate, one of those which opened, after the Indian fashion, by a heavy wooden bar which you lifted through a hole. Putting his left hand through the hole to move the sliding latch, it was shorn clean off by the blow of a sabre-blade inside, whereupon the brave soldier thrust in his right hand, opened the gate, and was the first to rush the entrance and take the fort. A hundred similar examples of national valor live in my mind.

With the transference of India to the Crown came advantages and disadvantages. Among the former was the direct impress given of imperial modes of government, through the hands of such eminent and experienced statesmen as Lords Lawrence, Northbrook, and Dufferin ; and among the latter the mischief of getting India "meddled and muddled" by entanglement with the House of Commons debates. With the true good sense which ever distinguishes His Royal Highness, the Duke of Cambridge once remarked to me : "How can you expect India to be well governed any more when the Viceroy has always at his elbow a button which communicates straight with the India Office in Westminster, and with the lobby of the House of Commons ?" Another result has followed which is of mixed evil and good. Education has been largely extended, with excellent consequences in many directions, but baneful ones in others. Instruction in the vernacular, conveying by native language the simplest and most solid truths and achievements of Western schools, goes on very widely indeed, and is an unmixed good. But in the colleges and high schools, where degrees are conferred or prepared for, the custom has too much been to impart a superficial acquaintance with English literature, which is of no use to the student unless he obtains government employment, and not of very much utility even then. The Brahman, dispossessed of his old authority and influence in the land, has taken largely to these curricula of polite sciolism, and becomes "a fish out of water," utterly helpless and malcontent, except he gets into some department of official work. This has mischievously bred a large and restless class of discontented young men, principally of high caste, who receive in the government colleges and high schools a superficial instruction in

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English language and literature, which turns them out conceited, but unfitted for the duties of life. As they are far too numerous to be all of them received into the service, the large balance of the disappointed Brahmans constitute a collection of people who agitate and raise political questions for which India is not ripe.

These young smatterers are known on the Bengal side as Baboos, but there are plenty of them to be found on the Bombay side and in the vicinity of every government college. These are they who agitate in the native press, in public meetings, and among foolish and thoughtless circles in England itself, for representative institutions and other absurdities, with ever larger share in the government of India on behalf of themselves and their fellows. I have been myself to some extent guilty of creating a considerable number of these intempestive spirits, since I was president for several years of the Sanskrit College at Poona, in the Deccan, which, with the Elphinstone Institution, constituted the University of Bombay. But my 500 students were almost all Mahrattas, who are of a sturdier type than the Bengali Brahmans. These latter, when they have learned English and dabbled a little in Scott's poems and other ornamental literature, have really nothing that they can do except to turn clerks in a government establishment. They are full of a certain narrow capacity, and when Lord Dufferin once asked me what was the most striking sight I had seen in travelling through India, my answer was, to have beheld a Calcutta Baboo prime minister to the Maharajah of Jeypore. But even in my time we had begun to rectify the mischief of this too genteel education by doing that which ought to be done and will now be done, and in the future, all over India. Technical and practical instruction, with reading, writing, and arithmetic, ought to be rendered as common and easy as can be; but *belles lettres* should be made expensive and comparatively unattractive, so as to divert the minds and thought of the rising intellect of India to botany, mineralogy, chemistry, and the more useful branches of learning, the fruit of which would be that we should gradually get the immense natural resources of India better developed.

In connection with this class of youthful and disappointed agitators, one hears sometimes the government of India reproached for not advancing quicker on the path of social progress and political reform of the modern type. The Marquis of Ripon was

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hailed with delight by these well-meaning but hasty people, because he took his inspiration from the Calcutta Baboos and their friends, and tried to rush ahead with what was justly called at the time a "breathless benevolence." But he confessed himself, on returning home, to a friend of mine, that he had no real supporter in that premature policy among English residents in India, "except his Scotch gardener at Simla"; and if one understands the land, it will be seen how rash and precipitate it is to apply to her the constitutional or democratic principles of the West. Patriotism is a word that has not and cannot have any universal meaning in that vast peninsula, which is a continent and not a country. India has never governed itself, and has never once been governed by one supreme authority until the time of the English rule. Consequently, there never was and there never could be that common sentiment among its inhabitants which is the necessary basis of the feeling of patriotism. There never even existed one comprehensive native name for the peninsula, regarding it geographically from Comorin to the Indus. Realize what India is! In the immense territory enclosed by the great mountains on the north and the oceans on the south, it contains nigh upon three hundred millions of souls, divided into innumerable races and classes, and speaking many more than a hundred different tongues and dialects. No countries in Europe, none in North and South America, are more widely divided from each other, in blood, religion, customs, and speech, than the Sikhs, say, from the Moplas of Calicut, or the Mahrattas of Poonah from the Mohammedans of Bhopal.

What has always helped to keep India from becoming homogeneous is her village system, which prevails everywhere. The towns and cities, of which, of course, there are many, are all entirely unconnected in interests and business; and live apart from each other as much as if they were islands in the sea. Between these lie, in the huge interspaces of the rural districts, innumerable villages, each of them constituted on the same plan, and each of them forming the little centre of the agricultural district radiating far round it. These villages are of immense antiquity, and possess an identical system of civil life which probably dates from days long before Moses and the Pharaohs. They never grow smaller or larger, for if the population increases, it migrates a few leagues off and opens up some new jungle or hill.

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There are the Patel or chief of the village, the Brahman astrologer, the blacksmith, the carcoon, or accountant, and the low-caste man, whose business it is to deal with corpses, human or animal, and to skin the cattle when they die. There is also always in these "gaums" a panchayet, or council of five, which acts as the little village court, and settles small local questions, under the sanction of the authorities. Amid these countless small centres of Hindu existence the English collector or his assistants go round annually, taking from the cultivators the light assessment which makes the government land tax, and holding among them a perambulating court of justice, which deals with more serious civil and criminal cases, or else refers them to the higher tribunals.

If all India were composed entirely of these villages, and the villages were tenanted by exactly the same sort of people, there might be such a thing as a homogeneous peninsula, for which its children might feel that sentiment of patriotism which is evoked with us by the mere name of England, and which unites all the States of America, in spite of their different and sometimes discordant interests, under the star-spangled banner. But the numberless millions of that land are split up in every direction, so that the human strata cross and recross each other, and show a hundred lines of cleavage. There is, first of all in the whole region, the broad distinction to be ever borne in mind between Hindus and Mohammedans, the proportion between these being, as nearly as I can remember, about seventeen to one. Yet this proportion gives Queen Victoria so many Muslim subjects in India that she rules, taking them into account with the same religionists in Ceylon, Malay, Africa, Arabia, and elsewhere, three times as many of "the faithful" as the Sultan of Turkey himself. These Indian Mohammedans represent and are derived from the old governing dynasty of the Mogul. They largely retain, except down in Madras, the ways and feelings of a lordly and dominant race; constantly quarrelling with the Hindus upon religious questions, and always ready to fly at their throats but for the strong restraining hand of the English Government. As matters stand in the great Indian cities, we have occasionally the "work of the world" to keep the peace between the Mohammedans and the Hindus, especially at the chief festivals; while every now and then, between whiles, the Hindus will throw the carcass of a pig into a Mohammedan mosque-court, or the Mohammedans will openly

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slaughter a cow, each of which unkind acts sets a whole province thirsting for blood. Nothing is more certain than that, if our power were withdrawn, these two main classes of Indian inhabitants would wage a war of mutual extermination.

And while this main division exists, the Hindus themselves are, first of all, cut up into four chief castes, with countless other and minor divisions, which keep them definitely apart, and will do so, it appears, for centuries to come. Up to this date modern civilization and the ideas introduced by us have had little or no effect upon that antique institution, which is supported by the vast bulk of Hindu opinion. The high-caste soldiers who fill our regiments of horse and foot, and who would cheerfully follow their English officers to death in battle, would fling away their half-cooked dinner if even the shadow of their commanding officer should fall upon their cooking-place; and this out of no disrespect for him, whom they often love and always revere, but because of an immemorial religious prescription. I had myself as a friend a native officer, who fell very sick, and to whom I said one day: "Luximan, I could restore you to health if I might give you, without your knowledge, a pint of strong beef-tea every day." He made me a feeble salaam, and answered: "Saheb, when I recovered, if I had found out what you had so kindly done, I should want to kill you at the first opportunity." This is enough to show that socially there is no unity among the inhabitants of India, nor any possibility of it, while they are further split up by geographical and natural limitations, and by old distinctions between the many kingdoms of India; so that, as I hav remarked, the Rajputs are more remote from the people of Cuttack, and the Todas of the Blue Mountains less akin to the mountaineers of Thibet, than the New Yorkers are distinguishable from the Esquimos, or the Southerners of Richmond from the red Indians of Winnipeg.

Since the time of Alexander of Macedon and of King Asoka, we are the first whose large and undisputed authority has practically brought India under one sceptre. Indeed, the renowned Macedonian never even saw the Ganges; and Asoka, the famous Buddhist monarch, with all his widespread influence, did not rule a tenth part of the peninsula. It lies now, from north to south and from east to west, under the benignant hand of the "Maharani," Her Majesty the Queen of England. And per-

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haps by the net-work of railways established, and the good roads which far and near link the large territories of the country, as well as by the electric wire and the postal service, India is at last becoming, as far as the thing is possible, a country and not a continent. Nor is it without hopeful foresight of such future amalgamation that we have everywhere instituted and encouraged a municipal system in the towns, which will help to teach Indian citizens the art of self-government. But when folks talk of ready cut-and-dried representative systems for India, and a hasty adoption of the civil and social methods of the West, they talk the "breathless benevolence" of ignorance. Modern institutions are not yet possible in that vast and varied world, which for many and many a year to come wants nothing so much as the immense tranquillity, the *burra choop,* which the Queen's government secures to it.

With what far-off and final object, then, it may be asked, does that government hold rule? And what do we propose to ourselves as the outcome of our continued guardianship? First of all, they do not ask these questions in India. The Eastern mind, never restless like the Western, is thoroughly Christian in this, that it "takes little thought for the morrow." It loves well to live along, waiting for history and destiny—which is the will of Parabrahm—to develop things. For it is necessary to understand the mind of India, as well as the face of the beautiful land and its immemorial divisions. India, even in her rural and least-educated districts, is metaphysical and philosophical to an extent unrealized by the practical and material West. This comes by inheritance. The Hindu peasant succeeds by an unconscious birthright to profound and far-reaching ancient ideas which make life's facts present themselves to him in quite a different light from the aspect which they bear for us.

Take, for example, the familiar question of the remarriage of Hindu widows, very much discussed and advocated by the "breathless-benevolence" school. Now, nothing would, on the surface, seem more reasonable or more seasonable than that all kindly people in England and America should denounce the present Hindu system. Under this, at five years of age the little Indian maiden is publicly betrothed to a Hindu boy of seven or eight, of whom she is from that time, in social regard, the wife. When they are thirteen and seventeen, respectively, they will live together in the house of the bridegroom's father.

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But if the bridegroom should die before this, or die shortly after the marriage, the Hindu girl must remain a child-widow for all her life, her ornaments taken from her, her hair cut short, and wearing, not the glad garments of crimson and gold, or purple and silver, which mark the happy state of an Indian wife, with gold and silver bangles and the bright vermilion mark on the forehead, but clad in the sad white *sari* of her loneliness. Nothing can seem more deplorable. But if you understand Indian ideas, you will see at once how serious a matter, socially speaking, any rash reform might become. The universal Hindu belief is that so great a calamity as the death of her husband could only befall any hapless child or woman because of some great offence committed by her in a previous existence, and that patient solitude is the right expiation.

Of course the Western reformer will immediately exclaim: "We have no patience with such fantastic beliefs. Why, in the name of sober sense and of the Christian government that rules India, should millions of these poor females be compelled to lead a solitary and mournful existence for so doubtful a tenet as this of expiating by patience and loneliness the wrong deeds done in some former life?" True! I warmly agree. But consider a little how this thing works socially. The little maid, from and after the time of her betrothal, wholly belongs to the family of her bridegroom, and is wholly chargeable to that family; so that—since every girl not deformed, sick, or lunatic, is betrothed as early as possible in India—there is no such thing as a woman in that land without protection and subsistence among all the immense numbers to whom this rule applies. For the sake of the dead husband or bridegroom, his family or its collateral branches will faithfully support her; and does support her to the end of her life. But if you take away that supreme motive of regarding her as belonging to her dead consort, and destined to rejoin him by virtue of her patience and fidelity, if you allow any or all of these young widows to remarry,—or, rather, compel Hindu civil law to allow it,—it will soon be nobody's business to shelter and protect one who is disputed, like the woman in the New Testament, by different husbands. The consequences of such a reform would be that in a few years you would have millions of Indian women absolutely destitute, and for the first time you would establish, what does not now exist in the peninsula, a pauper class.

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I remember astonishing one of our English ministers of state, who was president of the Poor-Law Board, by asking him if he had ever studied the Indian poor-law system. "No," he said, "but I wish greatly to do it, since there must be much to learn from a country with so vast a population. Pray tell me what it is." I replied: "There is none at all!" And that is the case. In India, as in Japan, there prevails the very peculiar and very admirable custom, immensely convenient to a government, of what is called by Hindus the *bhaobund*. Under this, anybody out of means goes right away to his nearest relative who happens to be fairly well off, and will be cheerfully maintained by him until such time as he can find something to which to turn his hand. In the same really Christian spirit, among the Japanese people also, if the police see any one begging for alms, they make inquiries at once as to his friends and relatives, and carry him off to the person who may be most reasonably called upon to take heed that he does not degrade his family by asking charity. Religious mendicants abound in both countries. But that is a different matter altogether; and under the existing system in India nobody ever saw a woman of the three higher castes stretch out her hand to the passer-by to ask for help. She has and can have no need; but would soon sink into it if in our reforms we did not regard the peculiar bearings of religious thought in the land.

This example is cited only to show how necessary it is, in any beneficent councils conceived for the sake of the Indian population, to have regard to the peculiar manners and beliefs of the people. Far be it from me to desire to maintain such a system, which links the living too severely to the dead, and is, indeed, a continuation under another form of that rite of *sati*, or the burning of widows, which, while it had a beautiful and sublime side, was a social evil which we did well to abolish from the land. Herein also much misconception prevails, however, for *sati* was at no date very prevalent in India. As far as I could ascertain, there never occurred more than about a thousand instances in a year throughout the land, even when, as at first, the English Government did not interfere with it. Martyrs are not so common as some imagine, even in India itself.

The duty of the English Government to India is, beyond all question, to administer that great special and separate Asiatic world for its own good and for its own sake, and not for the profit

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of the mother country. It is not to be denied for a moment that we derive, directly and indirectly, immense advantages from our possession of Hindustan. First of all, it gives us, in the eyes of the world, an imperial prestige that nothing can surpass; and I have said before, and repeat, that the loss of India, if that were possible, would mean the sure and speedy decay of the British Empire, and the falling-away, one by one, of our great colonies. Next to the place which India fills in the imagination of the world may be ranked in importance the large commerce which we carry on with her; the very considerable revenue derived from her people; of which, although most goes to the necessities of the country, it is not to be forgotten that a considerable portion supplies the salaries of that numerous civil service, covenanted and uncovenanted, which performs the duties of government; and that pension and other funds drawn from the same source sustain a great many English families in comfort and even in distinction. But right nobly does that civil service repay to India the funds which it thus derives from it. No one acquainted with the subject will gainsay me when I state that there does not exist a more accomplished, competent, or devoted body of men in the whole world than the civil servants of India.

From the earliest times until now this illustrious company of hard-worked officials has preserved unbroken the tradition of a perfectly spotless and unsparingly energetic administration, so that, as in the case of the judges of England, the "civilians" of India, almost without exception, have come to place themselves beyond the reach of suspicion or of reproach. In the by-gone times son and grandson succeeded father and grandfather in this official hierarchy, almost as a matter of course. And the method had this benefit in it, that it preserved an unbroken habitude in Indian affairs, so that we had seldom or never in the ranks of this perpetual dynasty of duty what is called "a Queen's bad bargain." Later in the day there came in that movement which abolished purchase in the army and appointment by favor to the Indian civil service. Nominations and promotions are all effected now by the universal plan of examination, which, while it does away with nepotism, and insures a due supply of brains for this most exacting work, gives us sometimes not quite the ideal man, as regards physical qualities and that custom of command which used to attach to the "Indian" and aristocratic class from

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which we drew our Indian servants. Sir Charles Trevelyan and his son, Sir George, were the main agents in that great reformation; but I myself heard Sir Charles once say at the table of his son: "We have altered the system, but I am, nevertheless, delighted to observe that the old familiar names are still constantly coming up in the lists of candidates obtaining appointments in India under the new competitive plan." And true it is that something in the magnificent surroundings of that service, in the dignity of its duties, in the inspiration of its imperial tasks, seems to turn almost all new comers into the old masterful and serviceable mould; so that the Queen's justice is still carried purely and faithfully to the door of every hut in India, and the collector's camp, as it passes through the districts, is still the recognized and trusted centre of clemency, equity, and consideration for the villagers, and a cause of terror only to the tigers which decimate their cattle; for wherever there is an Englishman in India, there is almost sure to be a passionately eager and enthusiastic sportsman.

The clear duty of England, therefore, towards India is to legislate and administer for her good, regardless of selfish considerations, and only careful not to lose step with the slow progress of the Asiatic mind by adopting the restless paces of Western reform. From the beginning until to-day that duty has never been put out of mind. Seventy years ago when somebody found Mountstewart Elphinstone sitting in his tent at night surrounded with piles of school-books and asked the Governor of Bombay what he was doing, he—one of the most devoted of administrators—replied: "I am paving our way out of India." I do not believe the English Government would hesitate at any measure, even if it involved the eventual loss of India, could it be made clear to them that that measure was for the sure and lasting benefit of the millions committed to our charge in those wide regions. But it is their opinion, and it is honestly mine, who love India as well as I love England, that the connection between the two peoples is one ordained by Divine Providence itself, and that the issues of that long strife that gave the great country to us, out of the hands and above the heads of so many fierce claimants, was a happy result for India, first, and after that for England; but chiefly for her in the noble duties and in the majesty of the mighty and onerous charge laid upon her.

Nowadays the Indians have become fellow subjects of the Queen,

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with general rights equal to the rights of those who live nearest the throne. An Indian Parsee gentleman has been a candidate for Parliament, and might have sat in it. Indian princes are among the highest knights of the English orders; Indian attendants accompany Her Majesty everywhere; and it is well known that the heart of Queen Victoria is attached to no part of her boundless dominions more closely than to those in India; whose people,—to speak what is the truth,—high and low, rich and poor, reverence the Empress, in return, as a sort of incarnation of power and goodness. It has come, indeed, to this, that India belongs to England, because England belongs to India; and having buried in her soil so many thousands of brave, devoted women and tender children, as well as gallant men, the title-deeds of my country to that proud and faithful guardianship are written almost more clearly in tears than in blood.

If a country like Russia challenges this long and faithful protectorate, it certainly is not and never has been upon the pretence that she could administer the country better, or be more in honest and useful sympathy with its people. Although the Muscovites have learned to treat with policy and consideration their vanquished Mohammedan races in Samarcand, Bokhara, Khiva, Merv, Kashgar, and elsewhere, they are not a tolerant race, as has been only too sadly shown by their conduct of late towards the Jews. In fact, Russia makes no affectation of political beneficence in approaching the gateways of India; she obeys two imperative impulses of national yearning and state necessity—one of them being the ever-pressing instinct to get down from her icy isolation to the sunshine and the sea; the other the never-forgotten mandate of Peter the Great not to rest till Constantinople is possessed. So obvious is the force of these two motives that the patriotic and sagacious Turkish statesman, Fuad Pacha, was wont to say: "Were I Russian, I would shake the world down to gain Stamboul!"

In half-conscious pursuit of these objects, Russia has pushed along from the Caspian to Merv, always thinking to use a real or menaced attack upon India as a flank diversion for her main assault upon the Bosphorus. We have stopped her again and again, on both wings of her advance; and from the political point of view the reason of this is clear, when your readers reflect what the Queen's Mohammedans would think and feel if we ever

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abandoned Stamboul to the Slav. While Britain continues a first-class power, Russia will never hold Constantinople, and will never enter the gateway of India except to be rolled back, in confusion, blood, and ruin, all the way along her track of advance, to Krasnovodsk and the Caspian marshes. If ever she defies in earnest the British Lion couched at Quetta and at Attock, the strife will not end until the Romanoff dynasty has been ruined, and Russia broken up. This is so well understood that the most peaceful men on both sides are those who command affairs, and best understand the momentous problem.

But English policy must follow the course of events, and His Imperial Majesty the Czar is served upon the frontier by restless and enterprising officers, who, after doing what mischief they could on the Afghan frontier, have of late opened up new troubles on the eastern slope of the Pamir, where they have instigated certain hill tribes to provoke the British border guards. The Pamir passes are impracticable for warfare. Anybody who will read M. Bonvalot's book will perceive that only small parties, and those with difficulty, can cross the inhospitable and dreadful *cols* of that "roof of the world." Moreover, in recklessly wandering towards Cashmere, by the Pamir Mountains, the Muscovites provoke and alarm China as well as England; and, briefly, they will most assuredly have to retire. It is an instance of the erroneous statements that are current to notice the Russian journals accusing England of annexing Cashmere by recent sinister measures; whereas, if they knew the facts, they would be aware that Goolab Singh, the former ruler of the country, freely offered it to us after the second Punjab war, and we refused it then and have since always refused it, the country being sufficiently at all times under our influence. The recent *alerte* was directed against the frontier of Cashmere, but there is no military road into India by that path; and the affair must be considered, unless it takes far larger proportions, as a mere diversion and piece of mischief, which Lord Lansdowne will know very well how to checkmate.

The invader who means earnestly to dispute India with the British must come by different roads and in a less furtive manner. If ever Russia has the will and the power to knock in serious purpose at the northern gates of India, she will come by Merv and Herat; and the great battle outside the frontiers of Hindustan will take

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place at Girishk upon the river Helmund. We must not lose that battle, and we shall not lose it, for all India will be watching at our backs ; and we owe to them, as the first guarantee of our fitness to be their rulers and protectors, the spectacle of our fearless and sufficing might. But if we lost it, we should be far, very far indeed, from losing India. The command of the sea, the guardianship of Egypt, the possession of those important sea stations, Malta and Gibraltar and Aden, are what really give us power to hold India against the world. And while we are masters of the sea, India will never be forced to change her allegiance. Even in the great mutiny there was never any real danger of our expulsion. An old Hindoo astrologer told me that the prince of his state con sulted him as to the course that should be adopted towards the then struggling and apparently overmastered Sahebs. "What did you say, Shastri ?" I asked. He answered : "I told the Maharaja, without even consulting the stars, that if we killed every one of you all but the last, he would bring the rest of the nation back upon us across the water."

The real pith of the problem lies deeper. India is well contented, safe, tranquil, and prosperous. Not actively grateful to us ; for no people ever are grateful for being well governed ; but deeply assured, as far as her masses think on the subject at all, that the "Queen's peace" in India is the truest blessing she ever had from the gods, and most desirable to maintain. India is well contented, and will flourish so long as England's strength suffices, along with justice purely administered, and tolerance truly maintained, and reforms seasonably introduced and fostered, to keep unbroken that deep peace, the first which India has known in all her history. To day, at least, the strength of England is abundantly adequate by land and sea to hold the country against any challenge.

But—and here comes the point—the question of questions is whether the democracy of Great Britain, our household-suffrage men, who have of late come to supreme power in the realm, comprehend their Indian Empire and care to maintain it. Undoubtedly, if they did comprehend, they would care ; for no nobler charge was ever laid upon a people than thus to repay to India—the antique mother of religion and philosophy—the immense debt due to her from the West. There are, of course, many collateral considerations which ought to move the popular

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mind; such as commercial benefit, colonial advantage, and national prestige; but these are weak in comparison with the force which ought to be exercised upon the general imagination by the sublime duty laid upon Great Britain, if ever any duty was sublime, by the visible decree of Providence itself, and it may be said, consecrated to the pride and fidelity of succeeding generations of Englishmen, as well as, in past days, by the brightest valor, the noblest devotion, the highest capacity, and the most unflinching discharge of duty. Upon this it all turns.

I believe myself that the people of England, who from all ranks of the home country have themselves furnished the soldiers, the officers, the administrators, and the statesmen that have built up British India, hold at heart, as a cherished principle, the maintenance of that glorious Oriental empire until such time as our duty is fully and finally done to the great and wonderful land. Nothing on the political horizon as yet even begins to proclaim that the task of England is accomplished towards India and her countless peoples; and therefore nothing, in my mind, at present so much as even threatens the manifest destiny of England to pass insensibly and happily from the position of the mistress and protectress of the peninsula to that of its first friend, its sister, and its ally, in some far-off day when the time is come for India to manage her own happy destinies.

EDWIN ARNOLD.

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A PERILOUS BUSINESS AND THE REMEDY.

BY THE HON. HENRY CABOT LODGE, REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM MASSACHUSETTS.

WHEN Burns wrote his famous lines,

> "Man's inhumanity to man
> Makes countless thousands mourn,"

he probably had in mind only that direct inhumanity which is unfortunately but too well known, and which has been the source of so much grief in the world. Yet there is a kind of inhumanity, indirect and unintentional, certainly much less obvious than that of the familiar verse, which is nevertheless the cause of almost as much suffering. The failure of Congress to act in the case of the trainmen is an instance of this latter sort. Three times has the President of the United States asked Congress to do something to protect the lives of trainmen by securing uniformity in couplers and the adoption of train brakes on freight trains. A committee of the Senate has held an extensive hearing upon the subject. The Railroad Commissioners of the country in their national convention have discussed the question, and appointed a special committee, with Mr. Crocker, of Massachusetts, at its head, to secure action. Yet Congress has done nothing. It would be going too far to say that nothing has been accomplished, for the efforts of the Railroad Commissioners have awakened public interest and to a certain extent formed public opinion. But the body which has the power to actually do something effective has not yet stirred. This inaction is inhumanity, unintentional and thoughtless no doubt, but none the less the cause of many deaths, of much pain, and of widespread suffering, which might be mitigated, if not stopped, by intelligent legislation.

I desire here to state the case briefly, merely bringing figures and facts together in such fashion that they shall tell their story, and, if possible, help forward the work of proper legislation. The

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story is a simple one, and any one who will take the trouble to read the figures will, I think, be convinced that something practical ought to be done and done quickly.

The following table gives all the really essential facts :

Kind of accident.	1890.		1889.	
	Killed.	Injured.	Killed.	Injured.
Coupling and uncoupling	369	7,341	300	6,757
Falling from trains and engines	557	2,348	493	2,011
Overhead obstructions	89	343	65	296
Collisions	236	1,035	167	820
Derailments	150	720	125	655
Other train accidents	154	894	189	1,016
At highway crossings	22	32	24	45
At stations	98	691	70	699
Other causes	749	8,250	539	7,729
Unclassified	27	236	....	.....
Total	2,451	22,390	1,972	20,028

The totals in these tables are really appalling : 22,000 men were killed and injured in the railroad service of the United States in 1889, and 25,000 in the following year. Of these, in round numbers, 2,000 were killed in 1889 and 2,500 in 1890.

Let me try now by a comparison to bring home what these figures mean. At the battle of Sedan, which sealed the fate of the Second Empire, the loss on both sides in killed and wounded was a trifle more than the killed and wounded among our trainmen last year. At Gravelotte, where the loss was heaviest in the Franco-Prussian War, the Germans lost 20,577 men. Wellington won Waterloo and Meade Gettysburg with a loss of 23,185 and 23,003 respectively, and the total loss on both sides at Shiloh in two days' murderous fighting did not reach 24,000. These were all great battles. They decided the fate of nations and were fought bravely and obstinately with the purpose of destroying human life. Yet the winner's loss and sometimes the loss of both victor and vanquished never equalled the loss in killed and wounded suffered by our trainmen in the pursuit of a peaceful calling during a single year. I think these figures from a few battles show in a very striking manner what a terrible loss of human life and what a frightful maiming of human bodies, with all the consequent suffering, occur among the trainmen of the country.

The proportion of killed to wounded is larger in battle than in the case of the trainmen, but the chief difference in these

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figures is that the losses in battle were concentrated into a few hours. So it happens that while we glow or shudder over a battle, with its heroism and its slaughter, the trainmen picked off or maimed one by one do not strike our imaginations. Of course the percentage of killed and wounded in battle, as compared with the numbers engaged, is greater than the percentage of killed and wounded on trains compared with the numbers employed. But the object of soldiers in battle is to kill and wound. They are there for that purpose. The object of trainmen is to carry on safely the railway traffic of a great country. Yet they suffer as if they were fighting a war, and the percentage of loss to numbers employed, if not so high as with soldiers, is frightful enough. For the year ending June 30, 1889, among all railroad employees there was one death for every 357 and one injury for every 35, while amongst trainmen alone there was one death for every 117 and one injury for every 12.* For the year ending June 30, 1890, the secretary of the Inter-State Commission, Mr. Moseley, informs me that for all employees there was one death for every 306 and one injury for every 33 men employed.

If nothing can be done to lessen the dangers which bring such results, it is only possible to regret deeply that so much suffering and death among vigorous men should be necessary in order to carry on the business of transportation; but if anything can be done to lessen them, it is little short of criminal not to do it. That improvement is possible is shown at once by the fact that in England there is among all employees only one death for every 875 and one injury for every 158 men employed. Such evidence, however, is really needless, for every one who has considered the subject at all knows that a great deal can be done to stop this killing and maiming in at least two directions—the coupling of cars and the braking of freight trains. It will be observed by examining the table already given that to these two causes 37 per cent. of the deaths and 45 per cent. of the injuries recorded are due, so that anything which cuts off these two sources of danger would largely reduce the total losses of life and limb.

How, then, is it to be done? The accidents under the first head now arise for the most part from the use of what is known as the old link-and-pin coupling. What is desired is to replace the old system with uniform automatic safety couplers or draw-

* "Statistics Railways of United States," 1889, p. 37.

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bars. Two conditions are absolutely necessary for improvement —safety couplers and uniformity in their use. At the hearing before the Senate committee representatives of various railroad systems spoke. They opposed legislation on the ground that the movement towards the uniform safety coupler was going on as rapidly as possible by the action of the railroads themselves; that the requirement of a given type of coupler would lead to the establishment of some single patent and the consequent advance in its price, and that, in any event, an act of Congress would put the railroads to heavy expenses, and was not required.

There is no reason to suppose that the managers of the railroads are not as anxious as any one else, from motives both of economy and of humanity, to check the frightful loss of life and limb arising from the two causes which have been mentioned. The able management of great roads, like the Pennsylvania and the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy, as was shown at the hearing, are now doing everything in their power upon their own lines to secure protection for their trainmen in the matter of couplers. Mr. Haines, president of the American Railway Association, said also at a meeting of the committee of the commissioners in New York, last November, that our railroads are at this moment making a wider application of safety appliances than is the case in Europe. I think this is perfectly true, despite the fact that the English Board of Trade during the past summer have issued orders defining and requiring train brakes on freight trains, and that the percentage of loss of life and limb is less in England than with us. Yet, after conceding to the railroad management of the country all that is claimed in the way of humanity and progress, it seems clear that their objections to legislation of a proper kind are not valid.

When the committee of the commissioners was appointed last March, it issued a set of inquiries to presidents of different railroads designed to elicit information on the matter of couplers. The results of this inquiry are condensed and tabulated in the following report made by Mr. E. A. Moseley, the secretary of the Inter-State-Commerce Commission, who is an expert on this subject, and were presented by him to the committee of the commissioners at its November meeting:

"The following is a summary of the replies received from the presidents of the different railroads in answer to the circular sent them regarding

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equipment. The replies in many cases are very vague and incomplete, but the following is as a clear statement as could be made of them.

"The total number of freight cars owned, leased, or controlled, 978,161. The total number equipped with automatic couplers, 129,304. The number of couplers used and the number of cars equipped with each, as well as could be prepared, is as follows: Of the M. C. B. type: Janney, 40,231; Gould, 23,357; Hinson, 42,061; designated simply M. C. B., 13,279. Of the Safford type there are reported 12,207, and couplers specified other than those named, 38,965.

"Owing to the imperfect manner in which the replies were made, we cannot tell whether the sum of the differences between the totals above mentioned of cars equipped with different couplers—190,090—and the total number of freight cars owned, leased, or controlled, viz., 978,161, would make the number having the link and pin 788,071; but this is the only conclusion which can be reached from the data furnished, as many of the replies state that they have no automatic couplers; and where they have done so, and have not indicated any other couplers used, we have concluded that the link-and-pin was the one in use.

"Of the total number of cars reported, 110,127 are equipped with train brakes as follows: Westinghouse, 97,238; Eames, 30; Boyden, 304; other types, 12,555. The balance of the cars, we conclude, are equipped with hand brakes only, as there is nothing to show to the contrary.

"The number of locomotives owned, leased, or controlled is 27,159, of which 17,000 are shown to be equipped with driving-wheel brakes.

"The replies to the question regarding the best means of bringing about uniformity in safety car-couplers are not at all clear in many cases, but the following is a statement which has been prepared, showing as nearly as possible the position of the roads:

"'Sixty-nine roads, representing 13,014.24 miles of road operated, are in favor of national legislation; eighty-eight roads, representing 46,791.09 miles of road operated, are in favor of voluntary action by the railroads; two roads, representing 139.09 miles of road operated, are in favor of State legislation; seventeen roads, representing 11,915.88 miles of road operated, are in favor of the M. C. B. type of coupler; ten roads, representing 4,829.83 miles of road operated, are in favor of different couplers; fifteen roads, representing 9,407.79 miles of road operated, express the opinion that the matter is still in the experimental stage, while 145 roads, representing 38,985.59 miles of road operated, have expressed no opinion in regard to the best means of bringing about uniformity in automatic couplers.'

"A number of the roads in favor of voluntary action and some of those which are silent in relation to the best means of bringing about uniformity in automatic couplers have shown a preference for the M. C. B. type.

"The Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé Railroad Company and its auxiliary lines, together with one other road, expressed themselves in favor of the Safford coupler."

This report shows what might have been expected—that, however well-intentioned the railroads, it is not possible for them by their own unaided efforts to obtain any uniformity of action on this subject within any reasonable time. Still less is it within the power of the separate States to obtain it. Freight cars belonging to different companies are scattered all over the country. They can be reached only by a legislation of equal extent.

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In other words, to obtain uniformity in freight couplers we must invoke the law of the United States.

The question of what couplers should be used, about which there has been, perhaps, more discussion than about anything else, is in reality secondary. Some type, that of the master car-builders or some other, could easily be agreed upon by the railroads, if it was once fixed by law that they must have some kind of uniform safety couplers. The main thing is uniformity, for where cars having the old link and pin have to be coupled with others having safety couplers, the danger is increased instead of diminished, as the advancing rate of loss from 1889 to 1890 painfully shows.

What we want, therefore, is an act requiring the adoption of uniform safety couplers by the railroads throughout the country. A reasonable time should be given to enable the roads to make this change, and they ought to have at least five and perhaps ten years, which is the average life of a freight car, to complete it. Then at the expiration of the time fixed by law the use of uniform safety couplers ought to be compelled under penalty.

The question of a type could be left to the railroads themselves, for when the railroads found that they would be forced under penalties to have uniform safety couplers, they would soon agree on the best and cheapest kind. If they did not, further legislation on this point could be easily obtained, vesting the necessary authority in the Inter-State-Commerce Commission.

As to the other prolific source of casualties, hand brakes on freight trains, the case is simpler. The heading in the statistics describes these accidents as "falling from trains," which occurs almost wholly on freight trains where the brakeman is required to pass along the top of the cars and to climb to and from the roofs in order to reach the brakes. The danger of this work is obvious. Running along the roof of a moving car by night, with the boards covered perhaps with ice or snow, in the midst of storms and darkness, which hide from sight the coming bridge, it is little wonder that so many meet death in the performance of this duty. In this case all that is required is to follow the directions of the English Board of Trade defining and requiring train brakes which are worked automatically from the engine, and with which we are already thoroughly familiar in our passenger service.

The case is such a plain one that it hardly seems to need argu-

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ment. No possible political feeling can be involved in it, and no very complicated legislation is required to bring about the desired result without placing a ruinous expense on the railroads. It is simple inhumanity not to take prompt action. The total number of killed and wounded is increasing from year to year, and so is the proportion of loss to the total number of men employed. Uniformity in the use of safety appliances and of train brakes on our freight trains will save hundreds of lives, stop the maiming of thousands of men, and preserve the bread-winners to thousands of families. Such uniformity can be obtained only by legislation which will reach into every State and every territory. The Congress of the United States alone has the power to pass such legislation, and it is high time that the power was exerted.

HENRY CABOT LODGE.

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A YEAR OF RAILROAD ACCIDENTS.*

BY H. G. PROUT, EDITOR OF THE "RAILROAD GAZETTE."

EVERY intelligent reader of the newspapers must have thought more than once during the year just ended that it would be a year memorable for the loss of life in railroad accidents. In Europe two of the worst accidents recorded in the whole history of railroading occurred in 1891. On June 14, at Mönchenstein, Switzerland, 73 people were killed and 130, or more, injured by the fall of a bridge under a train. On July 26, at St. Mandé, near Paris, 48 persons were killed and 180 injured in a collision. Up to this time there had never been more than thirteen railroad accidents in which 40 or more persons were killed. In the United States there were no such serious single accidents, but the railroad history of the year has been bloody enough to draw the attention of the most superficial reader.

In the first month of the year there were five collisions of passenger trains in which eight passengers were killed. In February occurred the Fourth Avenue tunnel accident in which six persons were killed and seven injured, and the circumstances of the accident gave it extraordinary prominence. It occurred within the limits of the greatest city of the continent, on the tracks of one of the greatest railroads of America, and fire added to the horror of the occasion. In the same month five persons were killed by a derailment. Then the months followed with no serious accidents until July, in which month 54 passengers were killed on the railroads of the United States. All of these were in four accidents; 49 of them were killed in three accidents, and 21 in one accident. These figures alone are impressive, but their effect

*The statistics used in this article have all been gathered by private enterprise, and are necessarily incomplete. The totals of casualties are below the facts, but they are the best that can be had for the whole country. The figures gathered by the Inter-State-Commerce Commission do not go back far enough for comparison, and none have been published by the commission since those for 1889. Moreover, the classification adopted by the commission has been faulty and misleading as to train accidents. The figures here given are sufficiently correct for purposes of a general comparison

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upon the mind is increased by the contrast with the customary course of events. The average number of passengers killed in one month for four years, 1887–1890, was 13.8. To suddenly increase this number to 54 was startling, and it was even more so from the fact that so many passengers had not been killed in any one month since October, 1888, when 70 were killed. In August, 1887, the month in which the Chatsworth accident took place, 80 persons were killed. Aside from these two months, the fatalities in July, 1891, were greater than they had been in any one month for five years. But July was followed by a month of almost equal mortality. In August 42 passengers were killed, 18 of them in a malicious wreck and 14 in a collision, the result of gross negligence on the part of the trainmen. Fortunately, in the next three months there was no great single accident, but in December came the Hastings collision, in which 13 persons were killed or fatally injured. This again excited intense interest, not only because of the number of deaths, but because it was on a very rich railroad with a great volume of business, and because public attention had very lately been drawn towards that railroad by the remarkable efforts that it had been making to increase the speed of passenger trains. The total number of accidents in December cannot now be told, as the statistics are not yet made out, but probably the deaths of passengers in the month will be found to be not less than 20. So the year began and ended with some startling accidents, and contained two months in which the death rate was very unusual. It is of interest to inquire whether or not 1891 has been more fatal in this particular than preceding years.

Before we begin comparisons, we must know what we compare. I shall consider train accidents alone,—that is, accidents which involve more or less injury to a moving train,—and shall confine the examination, so far as possible, to accidents involving passenger trains. Anybody using the figures must remember that the casualties to persons on railroads from train accidents alone are only about 8 or 9 per cent. of the total casualties. Further, of all persons killed on the railroads of the United States, about one-half are trespassers on the tracks and right of way of those railroads. It will be seen, therefore, that the branch of the subject to which this inquiry is limited is unimportant if measured by the relative number of casualties to persons.

I have said that the statistics of December, 1891, are still in-

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complete; therefore, I shall compare the first eleven months of that year with the first eleven months of 1890. In that period there were, in 1890, 1,939 train accidents of all classes, including freight trains. It is impossible to separate the passenger-train accidents without a greater amount of labor than the result would justify. In the corresponding eleven months of 1891 there were 2,215 train accidents. If the December, 1891, average is maintained, the year's accidents will be considerably above those of 1890; but 1890 itself was an exceptional year in this respect. For nine years, including 1882 to 1889, the train accidents have averaged 1,452 a year. In 1890 there were 2,146. The greatest number of accidents in any one year before that was 1,935, in 1888. So, considering only the number of train accidents, 1891 has been the worst year in the history of railroading in the United States. In the number of casualties to persons, however, it does not compare unfavorably with 1890. In the first eleven months of 1891 those killed in train accidents were: passengers, 160; employees, 488; total, including others than passengers and employees, 705. In the first eleven months of 1890 the killed were: passengers, 159; employees, 534; total, including "others," 753. But 1890 was also a year of unusual fatality. The following little table gives the deaths of and injuries to all persons, including passengers, employees, and others, from train accidents in the nine years 1882 to 1890 inclusive. The figures include freight-train accidents, as do the totals given above.

	Killed.	Injured.		Killed.	Injured.
1890	806	2,812	1885	307	1,530
1889	492	1,772	1884	389	1,760
1888	667	2,204	1883	473	1,910
1887	656	1,916	1882	380	1,588
1886	416	1,409			

It is quite obvious that both 1890 and 1891 were years of extraordinary fatality to those who travel by rail. Necessarily, railroad accidents must increase with the increase of railroad business, but whether or not they have increased relatively faster than the volume of railroad business has increased is hard to say. It is difficult to make an accurate comparison of one year with another, because where the figures are so small as those with which we have to deal, one extraordinary accident affects the total so greatly as to vitiate averages. There is another consideration; the records of railroad accidents in the United States are very

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incomplete. On the other hand, we have means of measuring accurately the progress in the growth of the volume of railroad business. In an attempt to ascertain whether or not railroad accidents have increased in greater ratio than the causes which might lead to such accidents have increased, the increase of miles of railroad operated would not be a fair measure, for as the length of railroad operated increases, the density of traffic on each mile may diminish. The best measure, probably, is that of train-miles. This gives us the total number of miles run by all trains, and this total depends upon the number of trains running, as well as upon the distance run.

It will be seen that the number of accidents ought to increase a good deal faster than the number of trains running. This is so because every additional train on a railroad adds the chance of accident due to its own journey, and also increases the chances of accident to each train which immediately precedes it, to each one which immediately follows it, and to every train that it meets on its journey. If the number of accidents increased in any given time in no greater ratio than the train-miles run, we should be justified in considering that the danger of railroad operation had been very much reduced in that time. If the number of accidents did not increase considerably faster than the train-miles, we should still be justified in assuming that a greater degree of safety had been reached. From the little table given above, it will be seen that 58 per cent. more persons were killed in the three years 1888 to 1890 than in the three years 1882 to 1884. The increase in the train-miles run in the same two periods was 42 per cent. From these figures it is impossible to say whether or not train accidents are *relatively* fewer than they were in 1882 and 1883, but I think that anybody at all familiar with the conditions of railroad operation in the United States will believe they are. It does not follow at all that the railroads of the United States have done all that they can do and ought to do to secure safety in operation. Some estimate as to how far they have done this may be made by taking up some of the more important accidents to passenger trains during the year. We cannot pretend to examine them all, nor would it be profitable to do so. The examination will be limited practically to such accidents as have caused the death of passengers.

In the first six months of the year 25 passengers were killed.

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Eight were killed in January in five collisions. One of these was a butting collision on a single-track railroad, the result of a mistake in transmitting or reading orders; one was a collision in a station yard, the result of carelessness on the part of the yardmen. Another collision was between a freight train crossing over from one track to the other and a passenger train running on the second track. This was an example of a class of accidents which could be provided against with almost absolute certainty by the well-known device of interlocking the switches with the signals which protect those switches. But further than that, such an accident should be provided against, first, by the orders under which the trains were running, and, second, by a proper protection of the train movement by the crew of the freight train. The other two collisions in this month were rear collisions—that is, an engine ran into the rear of the train in each instance. These collisions occurred on crowded tracks in or near the city limits of Chicago, and should have been provided against by block signals.

In February seven passengers were killed. Of these, five were killed in a derailment at Newton, North Carolina. The derailment occurred on a trestle which was wrecked by the shock, and the train fell thirty feet. There seems to be little doubt that the fatal results of this accident were due to the fact that the trestle was weak, or that its floor system was defective. In this month, also, occurred the well-known Fourth Avenue tunnel collision in New York city, in which no passengers were killed, but six employees of the road were killed and seven injured. A train of passenger cars was being hauled to the yards, and the engine of a train following crashed into the rear of these cars, in which the employees were. The result was a bad wreck, which took fire, and it is generally believed that several people lost their lives in the fire. The tunnel is well protected by block signals, but the engineman ran past the signals which were set to danger, for which he was blamed by those who carefully investigated the case. It seems unjust to hold the railroad company responsible for this collision, for the tunnel was protected at least as well as could have been required by the "state of the art" of signalling. The company has, however, been blamed, and justly so, for the use of stoves in the cars. Another remarkable accident occurring in the month of February fortunately caused no deaths, although nine passengers were in-

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jured. This was on the Canadian Pacific. An axle broke near a high trestle; the train was derailed, and a sleeping-car fell off the trestle, landing ninety feet below. Of the fifteen passengers in this car nine were more or less injured, but none fatally. An incident which occurred in the same month, although it had nothing to do with an accident, shows the sort of service which railroad men must be prepared for, and is an instance of fidelity which is worth mentioning. During a severe storm a Union Pacific passenger train was blockaded for thirty-six hours. The storm was so furious that the passengers did not dare leave the cars to go even the shortest distance without forming a line. The conductor went back to flag a following fast train and was badly frozen—an almost inevitable result. It is possible, at least, that his courage and devotion to duty prevented an accident.

In March six passengers were killed, four in derailments and two in collisions. One of these derailments, in which two passengers and one trainman were killed, was caused by a broken rail. The wreck took fire from a stove in a baggage car and was entirely consumed. The derailment was one of a class extremely difficult to prevent. A track-walker had gone over the track shortly before the accident, but did not detect the broken rail. The night was dark and rainy, and the rain froze on the track as fast as it fell. One derailment, in which one passenger was killed and ten injured, was caused by a broken wheel; another by a switch being carelessly thrown.

In April no passengers were killed, but there was one disastrous passenger-train accident. At Kipton, Ohio, on the 24th, a butting collision took place between train No. 21, westbound, and train No. 14, a fast mail train, eastbound. This resulted in the death of the two engineers, six postal clerks, and one fireman. Train No. 14 had the right of way, and was running at about fifty miles an hour; No. 21 was going slowly for the purpose of entering a siding to allow No. 14 to pass. The immediate cause of this accident was that No. 21 was behind time and should have stopped at the preceding station, but the conductor decided to run for Kipton, the usual passing-place. He and the engineman were held responsible for the accident, as they should have been, but behind this is the responsibility of the railroad company; for the accident would have been prevented had the road been worked under the absolute block system.

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In May two passengers were killed; the accidents in which they were killed had no special significance. There was, however, one sensational accident in this month. A work train, carrying a gang of men to fight forest fires, was derailed where the rails had been warped by the heat of the fires, and several cars were thrown upon a pile of burning logs. Six men, including the superintendent of the road, were killed or burned to death. A singular and pathetic event in this month was the killing of a child, a passenger in a sleeping-car, by a stone thrown through the window. Unfortunately, the miscreant who threw the stone was never captured.

In June five passengers were killed. Two of these were killed and eleven were injured by a derailment near Coon Rapids, Iowa. The train was derailed on a trestle approaching a bridge over the Coon River by a tie which had been fastened between the rails. The baggage car and four cars following it fell about forty feet. The case was undoubtedly one of malicious wrecking, but the wrecker was never caught. Another accident in this month, in which one passenger was killed and about thirty injured, was to an excursion train the engine of which was running tender first. The tender was derailed by a broken wheel, causing the wreck of the train. This was an example of bad practice in running the tender foremost, which, however, it is sometimes difficult to avoid.

We come now to the disastrous chronicle of July, in which month fifty-four passengers were killed and 120 injured. Twenty-three of these were killed and 27 injured in the accident at Ravenna, Ohio, July 3, at half-past two o'clock in the morning. A passenger train was stopped at a station several minutes beyond the usual time. While standing there, a train of twenty-four loaded refrigerator cars ran into the rear of it. There was a down grade approaching the station where the passenger train stood, and the freight train was not fitted with air-brakes, so that, although the passenger train was partially protected by a man who had gone to the rear with a lantern, the engineman of the freight train did not get the warning in time to prevent the accident. Several persons have been blamed for this accident; the flagman of the passenger train for not going back far enough, and the engineman of the freight train for running too fast approaching a station when he knew that he was pretty close to the passenger train's time. Doubtless there was fault

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of this sort, but back of it all is the fact that under the block system this dreadful accident would have been prevented, and the accident was followed almost at once by measures on the part of the railroad company looking towards equipping the road with block signals. A further lesson is that freight trains should have air-brakes. The next morning, July 4, the two rear cars of a passenger train ran off a trestle bridge eight miles west of Charleston, West Virginia, and fell about twenty feet. The conductor and seventeen passengers were killed, and forty-seven passengers and a mail clerk were seriously hurt. It is said that but one passenger in these two cars escaped uninjured. The cause of this accident has never been precisely determined, but it is said to have been the spreading of the rails from the partial destruction by fire of the cross-ties on the bridge. There seems to have been reasonable inspection of the structure, for it was customary every day for a section-man to walk over the bridge an hour later than the time at which the accident occurred. The other very serious accident in July was a singular one. An excursion train which was being switched at Aspen Junction, Colorado, was struck obliquely by a freight engine approaching on a side track. The car which was hit was little injured, but a check-valve on the side of the locomotive boiler was broken off, and a stream of steam and hot water from the boiler was poured into the car, scalding the passengers so that six were killed on the spot and two died afterwards. In this case the railroad company may properly be blamed, for there are well-known devices by which, in case of such an accident, a check-valve on the inside of the boiler shell is closed, preventing the escape of steam and hot water.

In August forty-two passengers were killed and 186 injured. Thirty-six employees were killed also. On the 27th a passenger train was derailed approaching a bridge near Statesville, North Carolina. The whole train ran off the bridge and fell about eighty feet to the bed of a small stream below, making a terrible wreck. There were 85 passengers in the train, of whom 18 were killed and 15 injured. Four trainmen also were killed, and two badly injured. The water in the creek was dammed by the wreck and some of the victims were drowned. This accident was, almost without question, another malicious wreck. A rail had been either removed or unfastened. The August accident

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next in importance was at Montezuma, New York, where 14 passengers and 2 employees were killed. That was a rear collision. Before daylight in the morning an express train ran into the rear of a preceding freight train, which was just entering a side track. There was a dense fog, and the engineman of the passenger train did not see the lantern of the freight trainman who went back to warn him; in fact, the lantern was only carried back a very short distance. Fourteen passengers were killed and sixteen injured. The flagman did not do his duty by going back as far as he should have done even had the night been clear; as it was foggy, his duty in the case was still more apparent. But beyond all this is the fact that the accident would have been prevented had the road been operated under the block system. In this case the defect is still more noticeable because a portion of the same road has been worked under block signals for years. On the 5th of this month a butting collision took place at Champlain, New York, between a regular passenger train and an excursion train, in which three passengers were killed and 10 or 11 injured. The railroad company was blamed by the coroner's jury for employing trainmen who were not familiar with the road. On the 31st, near Tell City, Indiana, a train was derailed by a broken wheel on the front truck of the locomotive. Four passengers were killed and 20 injured.

In September six passengers were killed and ninety-five injured. One was killed in California by a freight train running into the rear of a passenger train which had been stopped on a steep grade by a land-slide. The rear of the train was not properly protected by the train crew. Near Pickerell, Nebraska, one passenger was killed and one injured by a butting collision due to the failure of an operator to deliver orders. At Kent, Ohio, one passenger was killed and 24 injured in a butting collision which was caused by neglect on the part of the crew of a freight train to observe the signals carried by the preceding passenger train; that is, a passenger train was being run in six sections, carrying a large number of excursionists. When the fifth section passed the siding on which the freight train stood, the trainmen of the latter assumed that it was the sixth, and pulled out on the track. None of the other accidents of this month was remarkable except one in which a train of ten cars, carrying 700

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passengers, was derailed and several of the cars were overturned into a stream. By remarkable good luck, however, no one was killed, although 18 passengers were injured.

In October thirteen passengers were killed and seventy-four injured. Only three were killed in the cars of a passenger train, and two of these were killed in a derailment which has never been explained. Six passengers in a caboose at the rear of a freight train were killed at Thorson, Minnesota, the result of gross negligence on the part of the trainmen of a freight train following an extra which was running very fast, contrary to orders. On the 15th, near Crete, Illinois, a passenger train ran through a misplaced switch and into a round-house, a portion of which fell and crushed the cab of the locomotive. The engineer and three newspaper reporters, who were riding on the engine, were killed. These men had gone out on the engine of a fast train to write up a run. This accident was followed, a few days later, by another one of a very similar character near Monmouth, Illinois. In this latter case a passenger train again ran through an open switch and several of the cars were overturned and badly wrecked. Two passengers, the engineman, and a travelling engineer were killed; the fireman and 19 passengers were injured. In both of these cases it has been claimed that the switches had been tampered with, but, whether or not this is true, the railroad companies are not relieved of the responsibility for the accidents, because there is a very well-known and widely-used method of preventing just such accidents—that is, by the protection of switches by distant signals. Signals are placed at such distances as to give ample warning of the condition of the switch, and these are so connected to the switch that it cannot be thrown without first throwing the signal. Another accident occurring in this month resulted in the death of no passengers, but a brakeman and an express messenger were killed, and three postal clerks and a baggeman injured. This was a butting collision between an express train and a freight train, and was the result of an extraordinary combination of circumstances. The point was properly protected by block signals, but the operator on one side had fallen asleep and left a clear signal for the westbound train. The signals were set against the eastbound train, but the engineman failed to observe them. There was a dense fog at the time.

In November seventeen passengers were killed and sixty-four

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were injured. The worst accident of the month was at Toledo, Ohio, where, early in the evening of the 28th, nine passengers were killed and about twenty injured. The situation was a complicated one. One passenger train had stopped about one hundred and eighty feet east of a short tunnel. A passenger train following ran into the rear of this standing train. The accident happened within the "yard limits," where orders require all enginemen to keep such speed that they can stop within the range of vision. The tunnel was somewhat obscured by smoke, and the engineman of the second train was blamed, and justly, for running too fast and not keeping a sharp enough lookout. He should have been able to stop in one hundred and eighty feet if he had been running at twenty miles an hour or less, and it is clear that his speed was too high, or that he did not apply the brakes as soon as he ought, or both. But behind all this is the old fault, insufficient signalling. At Perry, New York, a car was derailed and went down a bank into a stream and one passenger was drowned,—cause, broken rail. Near Medina, Tennessee, one passenger was killed in a butting collision between a passenger train and a freight,—cause, mistake of orders or disobedience. The other passengers killed this month were on freight trains.

December opened with a rear collision of an express train with a local passenger train standing at Tarrytown station, New York, in which no one was killed, as the passengers had been warned and had left the standing train,—cause, defective signalling. On December 3 an express train ran into the rear of a gravel train near Pennington, New Jersey, killing four employees and injuring 15 passengers; and on the 4th, at East Thompson, Connecticut, two freight trains were wrecked by a collision, a passenger train ran into the wreck, and a second passenger train ran into the rear of the first. One passenger is supposed to have been burned in the wreck, but, wonderfully enough, there were no other deaths. This complicated accident and the one at Pennington would have been avoided by proper signalling. In the East Thompson accident the wreck of the freight trains would have been prevented by block signals, but after that took place the wreck of the first passenger train could not be prevented. The freight wreck fouled the passenger track, and there was not time to send out a flag before the first passenger train arrived. The flagman of this train was thrown to the ground and stunned, and before this was known

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the fourth train was in the wreck. Finally, the year of railroad accidents came to a dramatic end on Christmas eve with the dreadful disaster at Hastings, New York. One express train, which had come to an unexpected stop, was run into from the rear by another express going at about forty miles an hour. Thirteen people were killed outright or have since died. The immediate cause was the failure of the flagman to do his duty. The ultimate cause was one that has been generally recognized —the lack of proper signals.

I have cited only thirty-six accidents out of several hundred. The number of passenger trains involved in accidents during the year was not far from 850 or 900, but the number of accidents was, of course, somewhat less, as there were a good many collisions involving two passenger trains each. But those thirty-six accidents are characteristic. The first great fact that appears is that twenty-two of them might have been prevented had employees obeyed orders. They were not called on to exercise wit or judgment in alarming emergencies, but simply to obey orders. Space and time are lacking to discuss the measures that operating officers take to maintain discipline and the difficulties that they encounter. It is enough to say that this is the most troublesome part of their duties, and that the unions, instead of helping, have made matters worse. We may hope that this is a passing phase of trade-unionism, and that, as the men learn more of their proper relations to the rest of the world, they will discover that it is for their own interest to weed out the insubordinate, the inefficient, and the drunken.

The next striking fact is that nineteen of these accidents would probably have been saved by block signals and interlocked switches and signals. I would not say unqualifiedly that every one of the roads on which these accidents happened should at once equip its tracks with block signals and interlock all of its switches. There are reasonable limits within which they must work; but it may be said without qualification that it is poor railroad economy to operate a road having a heavy and fast traffic without block signals and interlocking for the protection of switches. It can be proved by the statistics of cost of accidents that a judiciously-planned block system pays in money, and generally on a crowded road it actually facilitates the movement of trains. In fact, there is a good deal of nonsense talked and

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written about the cost of establishing, maintaining, and operating block signals. Some of these accidents could have been prevented, and more would have been mitigated, had freight trains been fitted with air-brakes.

It is some comfort to see that so few of these fatal accidents were due to defects of track and equipment; and it will, no doubt, surprise many people to know that one-twelfth of the whole number were malicious. It is humiliating, but should be encouraging, that only about half a dozen of these thirty-six accidents were without fault on the part of the railroad officers or employees. This is encouraging, because it shows that many of the fatal accidents of the year would not have happened under conditions of operation which we may expect will be realized before many years have passed.

H. G. PROUT.

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THE OPERA.

BY EDMUND C. STANTON.

No one will deny that America has made, during the last decade, vast and important strides in matters musical and operatic. With the story of the latter's progress I had, fortunately for myself, a close connection during the period of seven seasons when grand opera in German held sway at the Metropolitan Opera-House; and I do not think it will be considered out of place on my part to say that opera reached with us a development, after the several seasons, that demands the completion —that is to say, the carrying-out to the fullest the artistic completeness—of these great principles in operatic arts of which Richard Wagner must always be acknowledged the great representative. In saying this I do not wish to be considered in any way a Wagnerite, pure and simple; but we must all admit that to ignore Richard Wagner and his magnificent work in raising up opera to the highest artistic possibilities, while compassing what he has styled the Music-Drama,—that is, the cohesion of all the arts in the splendor of music,—would be to place ourselves, at the very least, a decade back in our artistic and musical tastes and operatic enjoyments.

Italian opera is again with us at the Metropolitan, and it will be interesting to note how far the charms of the operatic entertainments, that have given so much pleasure to generations ever since opera became a fashionable feature of social life, still hold in a generation of opera-goers that has had the advantage of hearing the works of the greatest composers of nationalities abroad.

In the concert hall it is certain that a list of the numbers copied from a fashionable programme of twenty years ago would not be tolerated by modern concert-goers. The same may be said in regard to opera, and any attempt to revive anything more than a passing enthusiasm for the works embraced in what may be styled the old repertory, without paying attention to the modern productions in the realm of opera, must inevitably result in artis-

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tic disappointment, even if interpreted by the greatest of singers. I do not say that the old favorite operas should be excluded from the modern repertory. They demand a place in it for the sake of those of the younger generation who have not heard them. But the works of modern composers can be relied on to satisfy the demand for all the melodious charms on which the fame of the old repertory so long rested, because of the added grandeur of modern orchestration and dramatic and poetic completeness. The orchestra of to-day is vastly different from and a grander organism than that for which the old Italian masters wrote their works. Brought to its present standard by the artistic demands of the symphony, it has taken its natural place as a majestic, collective, interpretative organism in the Music-Drama, and in modern opera in general, from which it can never more be removed.

But opera in Italian will always be listened to with pleasure for one reason: Italy still retains her preëminence in the art of song, even though her singers are only for the smaller part of Italian nationality. During the reign of the Wagnerian opera the gentler beauties of the human voice were undoubtedly oftentimes sacrificed to an unnecessary extent; though this was due to faulty vocal methods prevalent among some German singers and to a misunderstanding of the lyrical-dramatic nature of the Music-Drama. Solo singing was too often made to take a secondary part in Wagnerian interpretations, and the Wagnerian conductors too frequently allowed the orchestra to run riot in the attempt to reach the utmost possibilities in dramatic climaxes. But at the Metropolitan, season after season, the methods of interpreting Wagner underwent a beneficent change, and the advent of the pure lyric tenor and the smooth, suave, baritone, in place of the so-called heroic singers of a decade ago, brought out beauties in the Wagner scores that had remained obscure to German audiences.

The objection to the declamatory and heroic styles, falsely imagined by many singers and critics to be the expression of dramatic feeling and intensity, was not only artistically justified, but was a sign of the unerring and delicate appreciation of true artistic work on the part of our highly-strung, nervous American audiences. Art to the American, especially to the American woman,—who must always remain the final court of appeal in matters musical and operatic,—is not noise or coarseness, but beauty

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and chasteness and naturalness ; in other words, Art in its absolute simplicity beautifies and idealizes all that it touches. It would be quite impossible for us to understand the enthusiasm that greeted the lyrically charming and artistically simple and natural beauties of "Siegfried" or the deep, tender, emotional truth of "Fidelio," if we did not admit the intuitive power of artistic appreciatiation which, if not born with, is at least second nature with, cultured American women.

This intuitive artistic feeling of Truth in Art is a glorious boon that has been developed in our country and nurtured by many positive, if indistinct, influences. Sprung from diverse stock, the American woman has won recognition not only for personal beauty, but for high literary, artistic, and musical taste and intelligence, throughout the civilized world. In Music she has had the advantage of training under the most capable masters, sent to us in periods of revolution and overcrowding by the most cultured of European nations. The pupils of our schools and seminaries have had the benefit of the ripest scholarship and the highest artistic training imparted to them by the best of European teachers. They have enjoyed the incalculable advantage of being initiated at once into the highest results of musical production and training of the age in which they live, without having had to undergo the ordeal of unlearning and shaking off the vitiated inheritance of decades of commonplace in music and opera through which Europe had to pass.

Then, to assist this natural, inherited appreciation of the highest art presented to them, came the benefits of travel and leisure, and years of study and education in the great European capitals, enjoyed by those whom wealth has fortunately made the great supporters of our opera. Audiences at the Metropolitan are essentially cosmopolitan. They have heard all that is best in the great opera-houses of the world, and if they cannot go into raptures over the memories of the singing of the great artists of the past, they have heard, and enjoyed, and become permeated with, all that is artistic and beautiful which Europe has had to offer of late years, and they could no more sink back into the enthusiasms that satisfied the audiences of a quarter of a century ago than could our modern theatre-goers applaud the mouthings and struttings of the dead histrionic heroes of melodramatic fame. They have spent seasons in Munich, where the Wagnerian

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operas used to be given in such beautiful and artistic completeness. They have made their pilgrimages to Bayreuth and seen the great music-dramas produced under the eye of the master. They have seen all the glories of spectacular in Meyerbeer, as given at the Grand Opera in Paris, and the ballets of Milan and Vienna given in all their glitter and magnificence.

Long before the Wagner seasons at the Metropolitan, the great American audience was ready to receive, and to appreciate to the fullest extent, the marvellous creations of the prophet of Bayreuth and his new revelations in operatic art,—the Art Work that embraces Drama and Song, Painting and Poetry, Architecture and Music, welded into a wonderful artistic whole,—and I believe it to be the universal testimony of those who have followed the history of Wagnerism here and abroad that nowhere has the reception of the Music-Drama been so spontaneous and heartily enthusiastic as here. Nowhere has Wagner been more deeply and truly understood in the poetic, dramatic, and musical compass of his splendid genius. All this, thanks to the beneficent influence of the American woman upon matters artistic and musical in America.

This brings me to the discussion of a fundamental principle of true operatic exposition—the necessity of good all-around casts and the exclusion of the system of stars. It must not be imagined for a moment, however, that good all-around excellence in casts should exclude the highest art in singing. During the seven seasons of grand opera in German at the Metropolitan, singers were heard who surely will stand comparison with the stars of the great Italian seasons. In devotion to true artistic principles, in the fervor of dramatic exposition, they were, for the most part, superior to their Italian confrères,—at least to those of the old school,—though no one would venture to deny that the beauty of art in song is still royally held by the Italians. But singing is only one important accompaniment in the operatic performance of to-day and of the future. To produce an opera in the style that shall meet the requirements of a modern American audience, which has seen the best that Europe has to present, which knows its Wagner and Beethoven by heart, whose musical taste and education have evoked the praise of a Von Bülow and a Tschaikowsky, demands a vastly greater artistic capacity than in the olden days.

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The production of the art-effects that Wagner demanded, this blending as far as possible of Music, Singing, Painting, and Drama, requires not only the assistance of a small army of skilful and artistic people, drilled under the most competent direction, but infinite patience in unceasing work, beginning with the separate rehearsals of chorus, orchestra, and soloists, and ending only after weeks of hard and earnest labor, when all the forces are brought together for the final rehearsals upon the stage. Then the work of the stage-manager has to be attended to, and scenic effects given in such a way that they shall agree with the intentions of the composer, so that the artistic results in the presentation of the scenes shall enhance the artistic enjoyment of the entire performance. It is not always the most expensive *mise-en-scêne* that produces the greatest artistic results. The cost of the second act of "Tristan and Isolde" was astonishingly small, yet infinite trouble and patience and great artistic knowledge in the manipulation of lights were necessary before the work could be properly presented to the public.

What infinite patience is needed before the elaborately built-up scenes of "Rheingold"—one representing the bed of the Rhine with its flowing waters, with its elaborate machinery for the swimming Rhine maidens; another with its towering walls of Walhalla, its scenes of storm and lightning after the gathering of the clouds at the command of Loki; another with its rainbow bridge over which the Teutonic gods pass on their way to their heavenly home—can be revealed to the public in artistic beauty and completeness! What a vast amount of patient working is demanded, again, for the production of scenic illusions, even for the simplicity of the second act of "Siegfried," when the hero is discovered resting under the forest tree, and where the dancing effect of sunlight upon the sward has to be imitated from nature in order to harmonize with the exquisite Waldweben music of the orchestra, where scenery and music must combine to produce that delightful dream of idealic charm and loveliness! Only with the assistance of artistically competent heads of departments, the devotion of principals, and the willing obedience of supernumeraries, could the great Wagnerian art-works have been produced at the Metropolitan, even with the aid of the large sums of money furnished by the box-holders and subscribers. Only an organization having some degree of stability and permanence can pos-

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sibly hope to present modern opera in a way that can satisfy the demands of American audiences in the future.

And the work before the operatic intendant of the future will be, I think, even greater than that which was accomplished during the seven years of grand opera in German, when nearly all the great works of the greatest composer of modern times were so successfully and brilliantly produced. The work done during those seven seasons would have tasked to their utmost the efforts of even the most experienced of European operatic organizations. Through the German and their own language American audiences were enabled to enjoy for the first time, presented and sung in a way that compared more than favorably with the productions in the great German capitals, the four operas composing "The Ring of the Nibelung," namely, "Rheingold," "Walküre," "Siegfried," and "Götterdämmerung," besides "Die Meistersinger," "Rienzi," and "Tristan and Isolde," in which appeared artists like Materna, Lehmann, Brandt, Schroeder-Hanfstaengel, Ritter-Goetze, Mielke, Niemann, Vogl, Reichmann, Gudehus, Robinson, Emil Fischer, Alvary, and a host of others who had won fame as Wagner singers in Germany or in Bayreuth.

Besides the Wagner works, there were produced during those seven seasons, for the first time on this side of the Atlantic, Victor Nessler's "Trumpeter of Säckingen," Spontini's "Ferdinand Cortez," Weber's "Euryanthe," Cornelius's "Barber of Bagdad," Franchetti's "Asrael," Smareglia's "Vassal of Szigeth," Goldmark's "Queen of Sheba" and "Merlin"; then came the magnificent revivals of Beethoven's "Fidelio," Meyerbeer's "Prophet" and "L'Africaine," Weber's "Freischütz," Rossini's "William Tell," Auber's "Stumme von Portici," and Halévy's "Jewess," besides several ballet operas, a style of entertainment which had never before been introduced here on the grand operatic stage. It is true that there gradually arose a demand for change; and the filling of this demand by the present season of Italian opera is the legitimate outcome of an artistic catholicity of taste which I should be the last to condemn.

It is this catholicity of taste in matters musical and operatic, in fact, that will demand in the future a repertory that shall embrace the operatic productions of all the musical countries of the world. To meet the demand of the catholic, cosmopolitan, and international spirit of our musical taste, the operatic purveyors

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of the future will have to search through the world for what is highest and best. Italy must yet be considered non-productive, so far as operas of the newer school are concerned. Even Verdi, who attempted, but failed, to assimilate and Italianize the Wagnerian idea, can no longer draw audiences as of yore. Boito, one of the moderns, has failed to fulfil the promises of his early genius, and only Mascagni in his "Cavalleria Rusticana" and "L' Amico Fritz" seems to promise the beginning of a new and glorious era for Italian opera once more. His smaller work has been accepted with enthusiasm, and the welcome given to it is assuredly justly deserved, for he has been able to carry out to completion the Wagnerian ideas, the wedding of poetry, drama, and music, in his own way. His genius is apparently born of true, simple, natural inspiration, derived from the subject treated; his every musical phrase throbs with the poetic and dramatic significance of the emotional situation; he is a modern Italian composer to whom the world bows in willing homage.

But the impresario of the future will not confine himself to Italy or to Germany. The Slavic countries and Hungary have already produced operas of sterling merit and startling originality. And what a splendid operatic mine has yet to be exploited for our benefit in Russia, which can boast of not only a national but of an international operatic repertory, including works by composers of all countries, not excepting Wagner, and which has symphonic and operatic composers like Rubinstein and Tschaikowsky. Turning to Bohemia, there is Dvorák, whose cantatas alone are known to us, but who has written several interesting operas for the Bohemian stage; while England has produced of late years several grand operas by her native composers, some of which have been adopted in the German operatic repertory. France, too, has many modern writers of opera, whose works have not yet been heard here, but which have found brilliant interpretation, for the most part in Brussels.

Why, then, should the operatic repertory of New York be confined to the works of Italian and French composers of a quarter of a century or more ago, worn out, and only revived to enthusiasm with the assistance of exceptional singers, demanding exceptional prices and necessitating the curtailment of expenses in every other direction, thus prohibiting the production of opera as an Art-Work? The operatic repertory of the future must of

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necessity be cosmopolitan and international in character. During the last season of grand opera in German the directors of the Metropolitan made a beginning in this direction, and only the constant and pressing demand on the part of the public for the Wagnerian repertory compelled a postponement in carrying out the plans to completion.

Such a repertory will embrace all nationalities and all schools, more especially the modern. We are essentially a cosmopolitan people, and should not, if we wish to develop further in musical and operatic taste, confine ourselves slavishly to the production of the operas of any one school or country. In what language this international repertory is to be sung is yet a matter of earnest thought and discussion. It seems probable that we must eventually adopt the English, but, for the present, we can hardly afford to prohibit by our language the engagement of the many great singers of the world who cannot do, and never will be able to do, themselves or their art justice in our vernacular. This difficulty will presumably settle itself in good time. Fortunately, we can feel assured of this: that whenever opera is presented in New York in its artistic completeness, the audiences will not fail to give it the necessary support, not because the opera-house is a centre of fashionable resort, but because they are themselves imbued with the true artistic spirit of appreciation of what is high and true in musical and operatic art.

EDMUND C. STANTON.

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LOTTERIES AND GAMBLING.

BY ANTHONY COMSTOCK, SECRETARY OF THE NEW YORK SOCIETY FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF VICE.

WHAT the Louisiana Lottery Company is doing for the State of Louisiana by corrupting officials, bribing public servants, destroying public morals, breeding crime and dishonesty, wrecking homes, and impoverishing the laboring classes, the pool gamblers of New York and New Jersey are doing for these two States.

Betting and gambling were denounced by the recent Methodist Ecumenical Council as two great vices of the age, and the necessity of suppressing them by vigorous legislation was most strongly urged. One of the morning papers, in commenting upon the action of this council and the gentlemen who made addresses upon this subject, made this very strange criticism :

> "Laws are made, not to promote the spiritual welfare of men and women, but for the protection of society. Morality is very wisely left to the churches. . . . The church, not the state, must reform the gambler."

If this means anything, it means that the state should not interfere with the gamblers of the day. But this sentiment every thoughtful man will dissent from and protest against.

Any act against public morals is a breach of the peace and indictable at common law. We find this principle laid down and established more than a century and a half ago under the common-law decisions of the English courts.

Any person who will reflect a single moment cannot but feel and see that the corrupting of public morals, either by intemperance, lotteries, gambling, or lewd and unclean publications, must be attended with the most disastrous consequences, and our courts of justice are, or ought to be, the schools of public morals.

Gambling and lotteries, obscene publications and houses of ill-fame, are all classed together by law-writers and courts as vices

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which "tend to destroy public morals." Wherever these questions are discussed, either singly or grouped together, by the courts of any civilized nation, *what tends to corrupt public morals* (especially of that class in a community whose character is not so completely formed as to be proof against these corrupting influences) "is declared to be indictable."

This principle has been unanimously affirmed by the Court of Appeals of this State in many cases, and particularly in the case of The People *vs.* Muller, reported in the 96th New York Reports. The courts have been as emphatic and uniform in adjudging gambling in its various forms, including pool-selling, book-making, and lotteries, to be against public morals, as they have been in their denunciations of obscene and criminal publications.

The English Parliament in 1699 declared all lotteries a common and public nuisance, making void all lottery grants, and providing that parties conducting them henceforth should be prosecuted as *common rogues*. (1698, 10 Will. III., C 23.)

In the same year a body of ministers in Boston, Mass., denounced lotteries as "cheats," and the managers as "pillagers of the people"; and that sentiment has grown until every State in the Union but one has either laws or constitutional enactments against lotteries. From the highest to the lowest courts in this land, lotteries and the keeping of common gaming-houses have been declared "a public nuisance." The late Chief-Justice Waite, in delivering the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, said:

"That lotteries are demoralizing in their effects, no matter how carefully regulated, cannot, in the opinion of this court, be doubted. Experience has shown that the common forms of gambling are comparatively innocuous when placed in contact with the widespread pestilence of lotteries. The former are confined to a few persons and places; but the latter infects the whole community; it enters every dwelling; it reaches every class; it preys upon the hard earnings of the poor, and it plunders the ignorant and simple." (Stone *vs.* State of Miss., 11 Otto, 814.)

Again says the Supreme Court of the United States, in construing the constitution of Maryland concerning lotteries:

"The object to be accomplished was the suppression of a great moral evil, and to effect so praiseworthy and laudable a purpose the construction should be a benign and liberal one."

Bishop's "Criminal Law" places lotteries in the same category as the selling of untaxed liquors and houses of ill-fame.

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The Supreme Court of the United States has repeatedly held "that nuisances injurious to public health and morality are among the most important duties of government to suppress." (Phalen *vs.* State of Va., Howard's Prac., p. 168.)

The State of Louisiana stands upon the threshold of what threatens to be a bloody conflict. On the one hand are a few unscrupulous men managing a lottery enterprise; on the other hand are those who have lived in hopes that at the end of the twenty-five years of chartered life this monster would be buried out of public sight. Instead, however, with millions of ill-gotten gain at its command, this hydra-headed monster now has clutched the throat of the body politic of the State of Louisiana and cries, "Give! Give! Give!" even to the very last remnant of respectability and common honesty, and seeks to enforce its demands by an offered bribe of $31,250,000.

For twenty-five years it has paralyzed industrious habits wherever its contagious touch has been felt. Public officials have been bribed and large sums of money have been offered by this lottery company, or its representatives, in order to intrench itself under police protection in communities where the laws prohibit its existence.

The very preamble of the charter of this lottery company condemns lotteries and witnesses against their demoralizing effects. It says: "Whereas, many millions of dollars have been withdrawn from and lost to this State by the sale of Havana, Kentucky, Madrid, and other lottery tickets, policy combinations, and devices, and fractional parts thereof, it shall hereafter be unlawful to sell, or exhibit for sale, any of them, or any other lottery," etc. The second section, authorizing a plundering scheme of their own, says that its objects and purposes are "the protection of the State against the great losses heretofore incurred by sending large amounts of money to other States and foreign countries for the purchase of lottery tickets and devices, thereby impoverishing our own people." It would be difficult to surpass this bold and daring demand of one State by official enactment proposing a legalized system of wholesale plunder upon sister States.

Louisiana proclaims to all other States by its enactment: "Lotteries are frauds. By their operation the people are plundered. None of you shall sell tickets in any of your lotteries in the State of Louisiana. But we propose to defy your laws and send

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our tickets into every State in the Union, regardless of State rights, enactments by constitution, or laws prohibiting such traffic."

To show the greed of these public plunderers, we have but to call attention to the fact that a few years ago the price of their tickets was $2 a ticket for ordinary drawings and $10 a ticket for extraordinary drawings, making the total receipts each year of the tickets sold in all the drawings $4,000,000. By the terms of their charter, 1 per cent., or $40,000, was to be paid to the State of Louisiana each year. This sop to charity was nothing but an apology for the existence of this monstrous fraud.

Year by year they have increased the price of tickets, until now the ordinary ticket is $20, and the extraordinary ticket is $40. Tickets for ordinary drawings are divided into twentieths, each fractional part of a ticket being sold at $1. Reckoning that all of these tickets have been sold, the income of this company has been thus increased from $4,000,000 to $28,000,000 per year. It was supposed that this vast increase of wealth would satisfy the demands of the unscrupulous board of managers. Not so. At the last meeting of the General Assembly of the State of Louisiana a bill was introduced to amend the present constitution, which prohibits all lotteries after 1893 (when this lottery charter expires), so as to extend the present charter another twenty-five years.

This atrocious attempt to prolong the existence of this public scourge aroused the loyal element in the State of Louisiana, and for a time it looked as if there was no possible prospect of such a measure passing the General Assembly. When it seemed as if it must fail, one of the managers boldly offered a bribe of $31,250,000, payable $1,250,000 annually for the next twenty-five years, provided the constitution be thus amended.

When this question came to final vote, it was found that the lottery company had just sufficient votes in the Assembly to carry it through the Assembly, and just sufficient votes in the Senate to carry it through the Senate. It went to Governor Nichols, and was vetoed in a ringing message by him. After the Governor vetoed it, it again had just enough votes to carry it through the Assembly, but when it reached the Senate it would seem as if Providence interposed to prevent its passage, as the member who was to give the necessary vote died, and the measure failed to pass the Senate after the Governor's veto. Then it was brought

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by the lottery company before the Supreme Court of Louisiana on mandamus proceedings to compel the Secretary of State to publish this act. The Secretary of State contended that, as it had failed to pass over the Governor's veto, he was not obliged to publish it with the other acts of the General Assembly. The constitution of the State of Louisiana requires that all amendments to it, after passing the Legislature, shall be published a specified time before going to the people to be voted upon.

When the Supreme Court of Louisiana came to deliver its decision, it was found that the lottery company had just sufficient votes to carry it through the Supreme Court. One of the Supreme Court judges who voted in favor of this lottery scheme is the lottery candidate for Governor of the State of Louisiana at the coming election.

Only a few weeks ago the Democratic convention was held. The majority of the delegates who went to that convention were anti-lottery men when they went there, but when they came to organize it was found that the lottery company had just enough votes to organize in their interests. Now the issue is between the honorable citizens of Louisiana, on the one hand, and this organized band of public plunderers, on the other.

A prominent merchant fron New Orleans a few days ago related to the writer an incident that illustrates how lost to shame, how utterly unprincipled, these lottery advocates have become.

In electioneering for the primaries recently in New Orleans, a procession was gotten up in the lottery interest, and it is said that nearly or quite six thousand men and boys were in line, each one supplied with a tin cup, and kegs of beer were carried along in the procession, while certain saloons along the line of march displayed signs of "Free Beer," and there the rabble could go in and swill beer without charge.

It would seem as if every spark of manhood had been quenched, as if those working for the perpetuation of this nefarious business had sunk all self-respect, all regard for decency and morality, in their zeal to reëngraft this cursed thing into the body politic of that State. This nation owes it to itself to wipe out this disgrace and end this infamy. Such tactics are but a bid for revolution and lynch law. They are too exasperating to be tolerated by decent men. The manhood of Louisiana is not only dragged in the mud, but is stamped upon by such outrages.

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The administration of justice in the city of New Orleans, so far as the lottery interests are concerned, is a mockery and by-word. Public servants bend their necks to do the bidding of this lottery company. The managers boast that they have six millions of dollars in the banks of the city of New Orleans to be spent to carry through their amendments at the coming April election.

Anti-lottery societies have been organized, and prominent men are to-day, in the city of New York, endeavoring to secure help and sympathy for those in the State of Louisiana who have determined that this disgraceful sale of the State of Louisiana to an organized band of public plunderers shall not be consummated.

This nation is humiliated by the spectacle. There is need to be alarmed, for if this organization can collect together millions of money each year without returning any just or fair equivalent therefor, and can spend six millions to corrupt a single State election, what may it not do in the matter of corrupting and controlling national elections, where it requires less than three millions of dollars to meet the legitimate expenses of all parties to a Presidential election? Is it not time for something to be done to stay the wholesale bribery of officials and the corruption of the elective franchise? Is it not time for the moral people of the community to awaken from their lethargy and indifference, and take some decided steps to crush out this crime-breeder that has been for nearly a quarter of a century fattening upon the credulity of the people?

For five years this lottery company successfully prevented amendments to the acts of Congress concerning the transmission of lottery matter through the mails. But the last Congress enacted stringent laws despite their efforts, and the President promptly signed the enactment closing the mails effectually to all correspondence of every description relating to lotteries.

It would be difficult to picture the impoverishment of the poor of Louisiana; the demoralization of the young men; the beggaring of women and children, and the increase of crime, growing out of this monstrous swindling enterprise. The same demoralization that exists to-day in the State of Louisiana, like a slow paralysis is creeping over the States of New York and New Jersey through the policy gambling and betting on horse races. This nation is fast earning an unsavory reputation because of gambling propensities. Moral and religious influences seem to

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have no effect in checking this degrading passion. Year after year the gambling fraternity are becoming more and more strongly intrenched, while continued success renders them more and more arrogant and unscrupulous. Political leaders in both the Republican and the Democratic party, in localities where gambling is especially carried on, appear to be hand in glove with the principal "boss" gamblers.

The halls of legislatures are crowded with men intent upon amending liquor laws and gambling laws, so as to legislate away the rights and liberties of the people, and give the liquor traffic and the gambling fraternity the freest license to scatter their vicious influences.

Coming down from the halls of legislation, this dishonest and piratical crew enter the halls of justice and demand that the laws shall not be enforced against the members of their various fraternities. The hands of prosecuting attorneys are fettered by the command of political "bosses," or corrupted by the "hush-money" of those who grow rich by violating the laws of the land.

Underneath the surface, hidden from public view, there seems to be a positive understanding between political leaders and gambling "bosses" that if the gambling "bosses" pay liberally of the funds dishonestly taken from others, in support of local politics, the members of the fraternity so paying shall have immunity from interference or punishment by public officials.

The newspapers are brought under the same controlling influence by this fraternity, and while one column will give a sensational account of some murder, suicide, embezzlement, or defalcation growing out of the gambling craze, another column in the same paper will contain an account of the race-track and city pool-room gamblers, giving aid, support, and encouragement to these dishonest schemes by a daily publication of "tips" upon the various races.

Illegal liquor traffic, the banking gambling game, the policy-shop, the pool-room, the vendor of filthy publications, each and every one has maintained its existence by a system of paying political blackmail levied by political leaders or officials in the district where it belongs.

The time has come when thoughtful men should arouse themselves to the dangers that threaten the future of this nation from these degrading influences. The demoralization flowing from

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these schemes has entered the marts of trade, honeycombed commercial institutions, and undermined the stability of banking corporations. Our young men are rendered dishonest and ruined by thousands each year. Many a beautiful home has been wrecked by the downfall of a once honored father and husband. A blight has fallen upon public interests. Disorder and crime run rampant, while the ceaseless miasma arising from these putrid streams poisons the atmosphere which surrounds the rising generation.

A few months ago in Albany a prominent society man with a family of five motherless children committed suicide. He occupied a position of great responsibility. Up to the time of his death he enjoyed the confidence of his employers and received a handsome salary. After his death it was found that he was a defaulter in a sum of more than $100,000; that he had betrayed the trust of the company which employed him, and had embezzled its funds to gamble with. After his death, although his orphan children resided in a large and beautifully furnished house, it was found that there was not sufficient food to supply their wants in the house, and neighbors had to contribute to their support.

One of the daily papers a few days ago contained an account of a young woman who, with her husband, had been "playing the races." The husband lavished his money upon the professional gambler at the race-course rather than support his wife. She became desperate, went out upon the street, and in cold blood murdered her husband, because of his failure to support her.

Defalcations, embezzlements, forgeries, thefts, robberies, breaches of trust, suicides, and murders are breaking out in our midst as the harvest of this seed-sowing. Yet when these professional gamblers are brought into court they almost invariably escape with a nominal fine, and that, too, under a law which fixes a maximum punishment of two years' imprisonment and $1,000 fine.

ANTHONY COMSTOCK.

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TAMMANY HALL AND THE DEMOCRACY.

BY THE HON. RICHARD CROKER.

No political party can with reason expect to obtain power, or to maintain itself in power, unless it be efficiently organized. Between the aggressive forces of two similar groups of ideas, one entertained by a knot of theorists, the other enunciated by a well-compacted organization, there is such a difference as exists between a mob and a military battalion. The mob is fickle, bold, and timid by turns, and even in different portions it is at the same time swayed by conflicting emotions. In fact, it is a mere creature of emotion, while the drilled and compacted battalion is animated and supported by purpose and scientific plan. It has leaders, and these leaders are known to every man in the ranks and possess their confidence. It is thus that a single company of infantry is able to quell almost any popular outbreak in a city; and a regiment is completely master of the situation, even if it be outnumbered by the malcontents in the proportion of ten or twenty to one.

The value of organization in the case of politicial parties does not appear so obviously upon the surface ; but in point of fact organization is one of the main factors of success, and without it there can be no enduring result. In the immense republic of the United States, which is really a congress or union of over forty separate republics, each having its interests more or less dissociated from those of the others, and yet acknowledging the bond of a common political interest, the organization of a national party must, to a large extent, be based upon a system of deferential compromise, and be an aggregation. The Democrat of New York and the Democrat of Iowa are agreed on certain fundamental doctrines, and in order to put these in action they

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forbear to press the acceptance of ideas as to which they are at variance. They only vote for the same candidate once in four years; at other elections they choose Governors, Representatives, etc., who are at liberty to entertain widely different views as to the extent to which certain political theories should be made to operate. Thus an *ultra* tariff-reformer from Nebraska and a very mild tariff-reformer from some redeemed district of Pennsylvania or Massachusetts may each be an excellent Democrat at home; and they may vote harmoniously as Congressmen on national questions; but the two are are not as strong and effective as if they were both members of some political club with one watchword and one purpose.

No great army ever has the cohesive power of a regiment. The larger the mass the less perfectly do its members know the habits and purposes of its leader, having no close personal contact with him; but in the regiment, which is the unit and type of military strength, every private knows his captain and his colonel as well. In the course of service he sees all his comrades and officers in array; he sees the officers advance and salute the commander and that salute returned, and thus experiences the spirit and purpose that animate the entire body. This feeling of common purpose is the supreme aim of military organization in the direction of effectiveness; and a compacted and select political club or society is governed by the same processes.

It does not detract at all from the truth of this statement, that local political organizations composed largely of depraved men of revolutionary tendencies have often been powerful engines in government. It rather proves the essential verity of the principle, and indicates the necessity of a sound political basis. Cavalry is an important and powerful factor in war, whether it consist of a horde of Scythian robbers following some incarnate fiend of strife, or of a gallant "Six Hundred" charging down some Valley of Death in obedience to a mistaken order and led by a fearless and trained leader. When we consider the ghastly turmoil of the French Revolution, we cannot fail to admire the success, the influence, the resistless power of the Jacobin Club, not because the club was praiseworthy, since its actions were abhorrent, but because it was skilfully organized and handled. When its representatives sat in the convention, they knew their orders, and they were also conscious that it was their business to

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carry them out. They acted upon the principle that obedience to orders is the first duty of the soldier, and that "politics is war." Chess is war; business is war; the rivalry of students and of athletes is war. Everything is war in which men strive for mastery and power as against other men, and this is one of the essential conditions of progress.

The city of New York to-day contains a political organization which, in respect of age, skilful management, unity of purpose, devotion to correct principles, public usefulness, and, finally, success, has no superior, and, in my opinion, no equal, in political affairs the world over. I mean the *Tammany Democracy.* I do not propose to defend the Tammany organization; neither do I propose to defend sunrise as an exhibition of celestial mechanics, nor a democratic form of government as an illustration of human liberty at its best. In the campaign of 1891 almost the only argument used by the Republicans against the Democrats was the assertion that Flower was the candidate of a corrupt political club, and that club was named Tammany. Tammany was accused of every vice and crime known to Republican orators; it was a fountain-head of corruption; it was because of it that every farmer throughout the State could not at once pay off his mortgages; it took forty millions annually from the citizens of New York and gave them nothing in exchange for it. To the credit of the Democrats let us note the fact that, while this torrent of abuse was being poured upon the heads of voters, Democrats did as the inhabitants of Spain are said to do when the clouds are opened,—"they let it rain." Nobody apologized for the misdeeds of the alleged malefactor; the Democrats went before the people on legitimate issues, and the result of the affair was expressed in the figures, 47,937 majority. I doubt if the Democracy would have fared anything like as well if they had defended or apologized or explained away. "He who excuses himself accuses himself" is a time-worn proverb. They let Mr. Fassett shout himself hoarse over "Tammany corruption," and they won the victory.

In fact, such a defensive attitude would have been wholly at variance with the basis on which the Tammany Democracy acts. A well-organized political club is made for the purpose of aggressive warfare. It must move, and it must always move forward against its enemies. If it makes mistakes, it leaves them behind

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and goes ahead. If it is encumbered by useless baggage or half-hearted or traitorous camp-followers, it cuts them off and goes ahead. While it does not claim to be exempt from error, it does claim to be always aiming at success by proper and lawful methods, and to have the good of the general community always in view as its end of effort. Such an organization has no time or place for apologies or excuses; and to indulge in them would hazard its existence and certainly destroy its usefulness.

The city and county of New York comprise a population of nearly two millions and furnish the business arena for near-by residents who represent two millions more. The political party, then, that is uppermost in New York legislates locally for the largest municipal constituency on the planet, except one. The task is clearly one of enormous magnitude, and demands a combination of skill, enterprise, knowledge, resolution, and what is known as "executive ability," which cannot be at once made to order, and cannot be furnished by any body of theorists, no matter how full may be their pockets or how righteous may be their intentions. Since the Whig party went out of existence the Democrats have administered the affairs of New York County, rarely even losing the mayoralty except on personal grounds; always having the majority in the Board of Alderman, and as a rule the Sheriff's and County Clerk's offices. And at the same time the guiding force of the New York Democracy has proceeded from the Tammany organization.

As one of the members of this organization, I simply do what all its members are ready to do as occasion offers, and that is, to stand by its principles and affirm its record. We assert, to begin with, that its system is admirable in theory and works excellently well in practice. There are now twenty-four Assembly districts in the county, which are represented in an Executive Committee by one member from each district, whose duty it is to oversee all political movements in his district, from the sessions of the primaries down to the final counting of the ballots after the election polls are closed. This member of the Executive Committee is a citizen of repute, always a man of ability and good executive training. If he were not, he could not be permitted to take or hold the place. If he goes to sleep or commits overt acts that shock public morality, he is compelled to resign. Such casualties rarely occur, because they are not the natural growth of the sys-

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tem of selection which the organization practices; but when Tammany discovers a diseased growth in her organism, it is a matter of record that she does not hesitate at its extirpation.

Coincident with the plan that all the Assembly districts shall be thoroughly looked after by experienced leaders who are in close touch with the central committees, is the development of the doctrine that the laborer is worthy of his hire; in other words, that good work is worth paying for, and in order that it may be good must be paid for. The affairs of a vast community are to be administered. Skilful men must administer them. These men must be compensated. The principle is precisely the same as that which governs the workings of a railway, or a bank, or a factory; and it is an illustration of the operation of sophistries and unsound moralities, so much in vogue among our closet reformers, that any persons who have outgrown the kindergarten should shut their eyes to this obvious truth. Now, since there must be officials, and since these officials must be paid, and well paid, in order to insure able and constant service, why should they not be selected from the membership of the society that organizes the victories of the dominant party?

In my opinion, to ask this question is to answer it. And I add that the statement made by the enemies of Tammany that "Tammany stands by its friends," is, in fact, praise, although intended for abuse. Tammany *does* stand by its friends, and it always will until some such change occurs in human affairs as will make it praiseworthy and beneficial that a man or an association should stand by his or its enemies. We are willing to admit that the logical result of this principle of action would be that all the employees of the city government, from the Mayor to the porter who makes the fire in his office, should be members of the Tammany organization. This would not be to their discredit. And if any one of them commits a malfeasance, he is just as responsible to the *people* as though he were lifted bodily out of the "Union League" or some transient "Citizens' Reform Association," and he will at once find himself outside of the Tammany membership also.

Fearfully and wonderfully made are the tales that are sent out into the rural districts touching the evil effects of "Tammany rule." The trembling countryman on arriving in New York expects to fall into a quagmire of muddy streets, and while

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struggling through these quicksands he fears the bunco man on one side and the sandbagger on the other. Reaching some hotel, he counts on being murdered in his bed unless he double-lock his door. That his landlord should swindle him is a foregone conclusion. And when no adventure happens, and he reaches home in safety, he points to himself, among his neighbors, as a rare specimen of a survival of the dangers that accompany the sway of a Democratic majority in New York.

The facts are that New York is a centre to which the criminal element of the entire country gravitates, simply because it offers at once a lucrative field for crime and a safe hiding-place. Therefore, to preserve social order and "keep the peace" in New York demands more ability and more policemen than are required in country solitudes. It is safe to say that any right-minded citizen who attends to his own affairs and keeps proper company and proper hours is as safe in New York as in any part of the globe, the most violently Republican township of St. Lawrence County not excepted. Our streets are clean and are in good order as to the paving, except where certain corporations tear them up and keep their rents gaping. Our city is well watered, well lighted, and well parked. It is conceded that we have the best police and fire departments in the world. Our docks are being rapidly improved, and will compare, when completed, with the Liverpool and London docks. Our tax-rate is lower than that of dozens of other American cities whose affairs are not nearly so well administered. Nor is the tax-rate low because the assessed values are high. If any real-estate owner claims that his property is overvalued, you can silence him at once by offering to buy it at the valuation. Practical real-estate owners know that the county of New York does *not* over assess its property-owners.

That the Tammany Hall Democracy will largely aid in organizing victory for the national ticket next November is beyond question. The national Democracy is free to choose whatever candidate it may prefer. Tammany has no desire to dictate or control the choice; its part in the conflict is to elect the candidate after he shall have been named. No matter what Republican majorities may come down to the Harlem River from the interior of the State, we propose to meet and drown them with eighty-five thousand majority from New York and Kings.

RICHARD CROKER.

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THE OLYMPIAN RELIGION.

I.—ITS SOURCES AND AUTHORSHIP.

BY THE RIGHT HONORABLE WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE.

BY THE Olympian religion I mean the religion of the Achaians, or Greeks of the Troic period, as it has been portrayed in the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey."

There are also partial indications in the Poems of circumjacent worships. These, so far as they have been observed, have been sometimes strangely mistaken for proofs of a dual authorship. They are, in truth, sketches of systems prevailing beyond Achaian limits, interesting in themselves, and important from the light which they cast upon the Olympian scheme properly so called. These exotic religions, of Troas, of the further East, and of the South, will require in their own place such notices as the text will warrant.

And the Olympian religion will also have to be examined on its practical and ethical side.

It follows, from the nature of the case, that I have not to begin with a discussion of what is known as the Homeric question, but simply to pass it by. We have now and here to deal with the whole of the religious presentations in the Poems simply as a collection of facts. They may embrace a mixture of fable and of truth, which we cannot always disentangle from one another; but both the fable and the truth are facts for the present purpose. They were human concepts; and every human concept is a fact at least of the conceiving mind. But they were also, as cannot be doubted, based upon what the Poet saw and learned of the human society or societies around him; and, as descriptions of prevalent usage or ideas, they are facts of human life, belief, and experience.

It would be unpardonable to present my inferences from the

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Homeric text as being facts like those of the text itself; and in placing them before the reader it will be my duty, to the utmost of my ability, to keep the two visibly distinct. The utmost limit of my hope is that they may be found to be, in the main, probable inferences from the language of the text. At least, they are conceived and offered with the intention of conforming in every case to the spirit of my original. It may be right to add that, when I began the serious study of Homer, some forty years ago, I began it without theory or prepossession of any kind, and that my endeavor has been to let his text lead me by the hand. I do not, however, deny that prepossession, even when not entertained at the outset, may be acquired during the earlier, and may thus give a bias to the later, stages of a pursuit. If I have not throughout been able to tread the beaten path, it is because I think, and shall give reasons for thinking, that some of those who have preceded me have not always set out from the proper point or points of departure.

A treatment of the subject, thus composed of facts and of deductions from facts, is widely different from the method which has been sometimes adopted by recent writers. That method is to lay down some theory, which they have been led by considerations extraneous to Homer to adopt, as to the origin of religion, and then to read the Homeric facts, and construe them, in the light of that theory. I speak here of general theories, to which the text is made to bend; for without doubt every inference may be called a theory on the point to which it belongs. I speak, therefore, of wide and sweeping theories. For instance, it is taught by some that all Aryan religions are founded upon nature-worship, and that Homer describes an Aryan religion; consequently his deities all represent natural objects, and his text is to be construed accordingly. I contend, on the contrary, that he is to be construed by the laws of grammar and history, and, next to these, by himself carefully compared with himself.

In another vital point I differ from the method which has been almost invariably adopted in writing on what is termed the classical mythology. I claim to separate not only the Greek from the Italian *stoff*, or material, but also to separate that material which belongs to the classical and properly historical period from that which is Homeric; and which may be called prehistoric, because it is anterior to chronology and continuous record.

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I take the entire evidence of Homer, and claim that he be heard alone ; that he be allowed to tell his own tale, without being *in limine* contradicted, hustled, and shouldered out by other witnesses, who have another tale to tell. Their tale is Greek, but is not Achaian ; it is not his tale, because it proceeds from different times and men, and witnesses to altered, multiplied, and comparatively confused traditions.

No ingenuity can weld into a whole the Greek religion of the classical period. But I hope it will not for a moment be supposed that, when I ask for a severance of the Homeric from the non-Homeric material, I intend to disparage the mass of information which is to be gathered from Greek literature generally respecting the religion of that race. It may happen, nay, may often happen, that writers more recent than Homer may present to us traditions more ancient. For example, it seems plain, even from Homeric evidence, that Hesiod deals much more largely in pre-Hellenic material than Homer himself, and that, moreover, with every presumption of fidelity, and without any suspicion of having tampered with his materials for a purpose. This remark has its application to the later Greek authors when they have been in contact with channels of popularly transmitted belief.

It is matter of regret to me to appear as in some sort the censor of any writers whose method I seek to amend, but whose superiority to myself I readily admit: this is, in truth, the only regret I have had to feel in connection with a peculiar, delightful, and profoundly important subject. Those, let me add, from whom I may seem to differ, are well able to defend themselves, should they think that defence is required. They have also, I think, at present the advantage of being the majority.

Until the present century had counted several decades of years, the poems of Homer were loved and studied among us as magnificent romances with more or less of foundation in the world of fact. Distinguished scholars, like Cyril Jackson, the Dean of Christ Church, offered to his memory a worship alike steady and fervent. Still, the historical ingredient in these immortal works was afloat upon the great sea of prehistoric antiquity, like the island of Delos in the well-known legend, unmoored, and unrelated to any authentic records of the past. They had, indeed, been made the object of the fiercest disintegrating attacks ; and it is, perhaps, to these attacks that we are in great part indebted for

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that serious scrutiny of the text, upon the comparative method, which has been a characteristic of the more recent Homeric study. This examination opened to the recent inquirer fields of knowledge altogether new. As anatomy discloses to us, under the smooth unbroken texture of the human skin, a system of bones and sinews, of ducts and nerves, so under the surface of the Poems there has lain all along, and there is now perceivable, the entire framework of contemporary human life. The several ethnical factors of the newly-compounded Achaian nation became in some degree distinguishable one from another; and with these distinctions there rose into view those differences of religious belief and worship which severalty of race and local origin implied. I admit that I have here to make an assumption, which must for the present be an assumption only. It is that the Achaian or Greek nation was a composite nation.

In the next place, it has also become clear that the celestial or preternatural portion of the great human dramas represented in the poems was not merely secondary or ornamental, but was, like the terrestrial portion, especially in the "Iliad," a work of consummate art, and a vehicle of rich and varied traditions, opening to us the religious beliefs and influences known at a very early date to a particular aggregation of men, which a long experience subsequently proved to be in natural gifts the most richly endowed of all known races. At the same time, so far as chronology is concerned, I apprehend that all research, based upon the text, has tended rather to lengthen than to shorten the interval supposed to lie between the date of the Poems and the classical period of Greece.

While a way was thus opened by which to penetrate further and further into the mine of the Poems of Homer by the light which they themselves afforded, new and powerful sources of information were most opportunely opened from without. The generous and life-long enthusiasm of Dr. Schliemann, now unhappily deceased, led him to undertake excavations which have contributed, in a certain manner and measure, to support the historical character of the "Iliad," and to establish a connection between prehistoric Greece and the Egypt of the monuments. Of direct and sweeping results in relation to religion we can hardly speak in connection with this generous toil; but the general effect has been, in whatever degree, to

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accredit the Poems, and to favor the presumption of their high antiquity.

Much larger, in relation to the present subject, has been the knowledge derived from those researches in Egypt and in Assyria which, during the second and following quarters of the century, have carried light into wide regions previously most obscure, and have established as history much that was theretofore speculation. These systems of knowledge have required, and have justly obtained, the scientific names of Egyptology and Assyriology. Both of them, but the second in particular, have shed an altogether novel and unexpected light upon the Poems of Homer, especially as regards the subject of religion. They establish the eastern and southern derivation of a number of the elements which go to make up the Homeric system, and in so doing they may, perhaps, be found to supply in some degree a link between the Poems and the historical books of the Old Testament.

We seem, then, to have before us the outline at least of copious materials for a distinct and separate work on the religion of the Homeric Poems. And it is high time, as I contend, to recognize that we possess, in these Poems, a large treasure of knowledge, archæological in the widest sense, as a record of the ideas and beliefs, as well as the acts and characters, of the earliest fathers of the Greek nation. I believe it to be a record fuller and more instinct with life than any other equally ancient record that has been handed down to us; attested from within by its own self-consistency, and now, after running the gantlet of so many ages, further attested from without by the results of Egyptian and of Assyrian or Babylonian discovery.

There are other and very special reasons for an endeavor to extricate the subject of Homeric religion from the confusing associations by which it has so long been fettered and deformed, and to secure for it its due place in the history of human thought as well as of human life.

What I claim for Homer is not supremacy or infallibility as a guide in our inquiries respecting Hellenic religion. Any such claim is to be repudiated, were it only because it is impossible to say, as we view the field before us, at what point in the general tissue of the Poems the work of literary manipulation ends, and the practical and historical record begins. Even in the Christian churches, resting, as they do, upon a strong dogmatic and his-

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toric basis, there is a wide space between the restricted theory of their necessary books, or documents, and the living and working system of their official teachers and disciples. Much more must we guard against precipitate assumption when we have to deal with the effort of a poet to present a systematic religion without the guidance of commanding authority, and in the face of the problems offered by national conditions as yet unadjusted. Yet, after every deduction, there is much to affirm. We have before us a witness independent, solitary, and of unsurpassed creative and constructive powers. In the wide range of his Poems, he speaks to us with a self-consistency not less remarkable than his consummate art. What he has to say, he only has to say. From the depths of a prehistoric period, and across the sea of centuries that separate him from classical Greece, he conveys to us utterances with which there is really nothing to compare. The Hymns called Homeric are evidently the product of a civilization different from his, seated in the Asiatic Greece, and built up after the Dorian conquest. Still less of his spirit, if more of his facts, can be found in the "Theogony" of Hesiod, which conflicts with Homer on a number of vital points, and which almost bears to the Poems of Homer the relation borne by an almanac to a history.

My claim for Homer is that he is worth hearing for himself, and on his own ground, apart from the jangle of discordant voices. No one, early or late, except himself, has exhibited to us the early Achaian religion with comprehensiveness and elaboration. Nowhere else are its features so pronounced that their essential character is legible beyond mistake. All this is on the surface of the case. But we are also invited to mine below the surface, and to see whether, when we have classified his deities according to their ethnical relations, we may not find ourselves introduced to the actual process by which Achaian religion became what it was, and which gives to us an analysis of the nation, as well as of its thearchy, and assigns to each of its main ingredients its proper place and work in the formation of the compound. I seek, then, to extricate Homer and his testimony from the chaotic mass accumulated by so many countries and ages, and to see what lessons he may have to teach us. Not that he will teach us everything. But he will teach us something: whereas the method not uncommonly

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pursued seems to be a contrivance for destroying all hope of access to the religion of Greece in its embryonic and most plastic stages.

No great difficulty will perhaps be found in admitting that the testimony of Homer should be received as separate from and superior to that of the classical literature, with reference to the religion of Greece, on account of the wide and silent tract of time by which it precedes that literature. But still we may be asked to give some reasons why we are to demand a similar severance and precedence for the poet as against the Hymns commonly termed Homeric and the works of Hesiod, inasmuch as these, like the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey," partake of the prehistoric character. To this reasonable question I reply as follows.

Among the so-termed Homeric Hymns, that which is addressed to Apollo is the one which may best claim the title of so high a parentage on account of the touching passage cited by Thucydides,* and of the claim to Homeric originality which that passage itself seems to contain. But, as I conceive, I have elsewhere proved, by an examination of the text and contents of that Hymn, that it cannot possibly be the work of Homer, but belongs to a later author.†

The case of Hesiod, who has sometimes even been deemed, however strangely, to be older than Homer, requires a separate consideration.

Among the instances which may be adduced of misleading method, one of the most conspicuous is the practice of dealing with Homer and Hesiod as twin authorities for the Achaian religion. Thus Rinck‡ speaks of "the ancient poets," and says that "in Hesiod and Homer"—there is not even the sorry preference of "Homer and Hesiod"—"we find the general structure of Hellenic religion completed." Now, it is true that a number of names and particulars found in Homer are also found in Hesiod; but this is a very small part of the truth.

It seems probable that there was a period, immediately following the Dorian conquest, in which the poems of Homer had been ejected from the country together with the more civilized Hellenic tribes; and the ancient tradition, which connects him with Lycurgus, may mean that he was reimported by that lawgiver, possibly from his being esteemed as a great war poet, which

* III., 104. † See "Homeric Synchronism" (1876), Part I., Chap. IV.
‡ "Religion der Hellenen," VIII. (Zurich, 1855.)

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was apparently his leading excellence in the eyes of Aristophanes.* Hesiod may have lived in Bœotia before Lycurgus, but probably during this period. In any case, we find confounded together by him all that in Homer was the subject of keen discrimination. The Olympian religion of Homer was national, political, theanthropic, and of highly scientific construction, all the parts of it standing in due and orderly relation to one another. But the "Theogony" of Hesiod is neither national, nor political, nor (in any distinctive manner) theanthropic; nor is it scientific in any sense higher than that of a series of catalogues. Foreign and domestic elements, archaic and nascent or embryonic cults, are all set down side by side without distinction. Above all, the Nature-powers at large, including a multitude of abstractions such as Chaos, Erebos, Night, and many more, whom Homer virtually deposes, are restored to their high places in the lineage from which the thearchy is derived.

The comparison between the two poets is, indeed, extremely curious. Besides considerable coincidence, and very great divergence, in direct statement, we may observe that Hesiod, manifestly the more modern of the two, imitates Homer in a multitude of particulars. He constantly uses "Olympian" as an epithet for his divinities, but he has also imitations which are much more specific. For instance, he introduces the name of Iris, of whom we fail to find any trace in the religion of historic Greece, and whom, accordingly, Hesiod could not well be led to commemorate except, as I am tempted to say, in a rather blind following of Homer. But his departures from Homer, in letter and in spirit, are not less remarkable. In the well-remembered meeting of Zeus and Herè on Mount Ida, Homer graces and also veils the occurrence by introducing the immediate and spontaneous growth beneath them of flowers and fresh herbage; the tribute of Earth to the head of Olympos. Now in Zeus there was, along with sensuality, a certain majesty, and even a certain refinement. But Hesiod borrows the same figure first for Aphroditè,† who in Homer has no command over any natural agency except that of impure passion, and secondly for Poseidon,‡ who, in the Poems, notwithstanding his extraction and prerogatives, is in character little better than an exhibition of sheer animal force without any moral or transcendental element. It is not too much

* Aristoph., Batr., 1,034. † Theog., 194. ‡ Ibid, 277-279.

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to say that the work of Hesiod, most valuable without doubt in its own sphere, is not only different from, but even alien to, the works of Homer.

The Earth,* or Gaia, repressed in the Homeric scheme, and divested of all but physical attributes, is the progenitress of the Heaven of Hesiod. Okeanos is their joint offspring; whereas he is in Homer the first ancestor of gods and men.† Hesiod, again, makes Earth the parent of Kronos, and with him of the strangest miscellany of abstractions and realities.‡ But in truth, and speaking at large, nothing can in spirit be more alien to Homeric ideas than to derive the Olympian rulers from Gaia, the most material, the coarsest, if I may so speak, among all the objects of the Nature-worship that he deposed.

For another instance, Briareus, in Homer,§ is the son of the exotic Poseidon, who is himself the son of Kronos. In Hesiod the son becomes the uncle, for Briareus is a brother of Kronos, as are the Cyclop family.‖ Again, the Erinues, in Homer a creation of singular nobleness, are in Hesiod sisters of the rebel Gigantes. It would be an endless task to note all the contradictions between the "Theogony," on one side, and both the letter and spirit of Homer, on the other. I will close with two instances which will stand *instar omnium*. The great Athenè is, in Homer, conspicuous for the universality of her gifts; and her being the war-goddess figures only as a kind of secondary attribute. But in the three lines of the "Theogony" which relate her birth and character, the whole description is one of war, tumult, and terror.

Again, when Hesiod introduces Iris,¶ the ethereal creation of Homer, the most remote of all his divine company from association with the nature-cult, he makes Thaumas, a son of Nereus, her father, and a daughter of Okeanos her mother; utterly confounding together the things which Homer labors hardest to keep apart.

Except that the rule of Zeus and his court is set forth as the actually prevailing system in both, the productions of the two poets confuse rather than illustrate one another; and the rural, local, industrial, pacific muse of Hesiod** stands in a contrast almost ludicrous with the great works which Homer addresses for man to man, and which have conveyed the whole world of his day to all the worlds of all the succeeding generations. The "The-

* Theog., 126. † Ibid, 133. Il., XIV., 201, 302. ‡ Theog., 129-137. § Il., I., 404.
‖ Theog., 139, 149. ¶ Theog., 237, 265. ** "Works and Days," v. 19.

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ogony" only touches Homer to darken him; nor does it throw upon the origins of Hellenic nationality or religion so much as a single ray of light. And these two, opposed at every point of deeper meaning, even when the statements of fact seem to coincide, are treated almost as if they had been twin artists, jointly employed in a common work. This is the method of proceeding which it seems to me necessary not only to renounce, but to reverse, if we are ever to find any true and profitable meaning in the old Olympian religion.

The work of Rinck, which I have quoted, is now of old date. And it is well known that the German experts have, during the present century, been so unequivocally the leaders of the world in classical research that our debt to them is one perhaps needless to acknowledge, and certainly impossible to overstate. But, so far as I know, they, as well as the scholars of other countries, have, with the one distinguished exception of Nägelsbach,* continued to treat the Homeric evidence as if it were simply part and parcel of a homogeneous common stock, which continued in a gradual course of accumulation down to and including the Roman period. I hope it is not inconsistent with gratitude, or with respect, to say that this continuance can hardly be due to a reasoned and deliberate conviction, but may have sprung from a usage which needs only to be questioned in order to be discarded.

The severance now proposed of the Homeric from the later Greek system of religion is, in truth, at once a necessity and an advantage. It is, in the first place, a necessity, for without this no clear and consistent picture of the religion can be presented either for the heroic or for the classical period. If we take the great human characters described by Homer, such as Achilles, Helen, Odysseus, Hector, we find that in the historic time their aspects were blurred and their outlines shifted, so that the general effect was seriously or entirely altered. And even so it is with the Homeric deities. In Homer we find portraits of them drawn and finished with consummate care; so drawn that a sculptor, if deeply imbued with Homeric study, would be able to preserve the individualities of the Olympian court as faithfully as those of Agamemnon's council. But with reference to the aggregate of

*Nägelsbach, "Homerische Theologie," Nürnberg, 1861. Preceded by the "Nachhomerische Theologie bis auf Alexander," Nürnberg, 1857. The "Mythologie der Ilias," by Dr. Von Sybel (Marburg, 1877), contributes little or nothing to elucidate the subject.

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the deities of the historic period, such an attempt would clearly be desperate. The Apollo is lowered and fundamentally changed; the Arès and the Aphroditè are promoted, nay, almost pitchforked, into a new position; the common properties of deity encroach on the distinctive; all true personality is enfeebled. In the case of the Erinues, nothing less than a disastrous revolution is brought about. The ethical color is itself affected. So is the association, or polity. What is a true picture of the Olympian system of Homer, with its power and habit of collective action, would be an untrue picture for the classical period; and *vice versâ*.

But there is also a great advantage in the separate treatment of the Homeric scheme of religion. In the examination of the prehistoric religions generally, it is felt that they extend over long periods of time in which great changes must have taken place. It follows that, in the mass of particulars presented to us, some are older, some newer; but that we have no effective, or even possible, means of separating the old from the new. Now, let us suppose that in some one of these cases we should find that we were able to note a certain portion, or a certain form, of their particulars, as absolutely original, or, at any rate, as lying near the source; again, as being thereby distinguished broadly from all the rest; and as forming a point of departure from which the measurements of the rest could be taken. Is it not obvious that the gain would be immense? and that new lights, decisive in their character, would or might be thrown upon the most important questions? For example, we should obtain data of a positive character towards determining whether the history of ancient religion, as it grows older, exhibits at all, and, if so, in what particulars, the notes of an upward or of a downward movement. But this high vantage ground is exactly what is found ready to our hands, in the case of the Olympian religion, through the poems of Homer. He is the only primitive author who has treated the subject of religion systematically, and has presented it to us, first as an organic whole, and next as an organic whole that still carried upon it, in his day, the notes of its derivation from yet earlier sources. With this we should compare all the later forms, and it should supply a standard which forms an element of the case when we proceed to measure them.

W. E. GLADSTONE.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

AN OPEN LETTER.

THE policy I have outlined in my article "How to Attack the Tariff," in this number of THE REVIEW, has already been received with great favor by journals representing the business industries of the country. It is conservative in its methods, and will not alarm any legitimate industries or tend to embarrass production or trade of any kind. On the contrary, it is believed that all industries will be promoted and general prosperity will result from the adoption of this policy.

It has the advantage of being easily comprehended. Those who have paid but little attention to economic questions will have no difficulty in comprehending the method of attack or of understanding the results which will follow. It has the further advantage of permitting a short session of Congress, and thus enabling Representatives to return to their constituents at the earliest time practicable. It will enable the House to fully map out and determine its line of policy before the meeting of the National Democratic Convention, so that confusion and uncertainty will be prevented, and the platform of the party which may be adopted at the National Convention can be in perfect harmony with the policy of the Democratic Representatives in Congress.

The Committee on Ways and Means is composed of fifteen Representatives, eleven of whom, including the five Republicans, reside in Northern States. No charge of Southern sectionalism can be alleged or maintained against this committee, or against any measure that it may recommend. The great manufacturing and producing States of the country are represented, and every measure produced will have in view the promotion of the best interests of the country, both manufacturing and agricultural.

WM. M. SPRINGER.

THE FLOUR OF THE FUTURE.

WHAT part has science in the making of bread? To what extent has this staple article of food been improved and benefited by the immense strides made in scientific knowledge, applicable to almost every other article? There seems a great lack of knowledge of the proper composition and nutritious qualities of flour; of the process of fermentation; of the generating of gases in baking; of the effect of the absence or superabundance of any certain ingredient in bread. It is true that the bread of this century is whiter than that of our forefathers; it may be lighter, from the addition of artificial baking-powders and similar compounds; but is it better, more

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wholesome, nutritious, and digestible? Compared with the making and the composition of bread, which everybody consumes, there is ten times as much science employed in the making of beer. Recently Edward Atkinson, of Boston, whose pursuit of economical problems is a national advantage, said:

"What is the amount of scientific labor and application to-day bestowed on the proper regulation of the fermenting process in the brewing of beer? We all know that every brewer of any prominence has for his guidance a chemical laboratory; that the practical men intrusted with the management and superintendence of the process are picked and selected; have great experience, thorough training, and can command the highest remuneration for their work, when well performed. Millions of dollars per year are expended in the effort to make the beer as palatable as possible, and to insure a perfect uniformity and precise quality of the same."

In civilized Germany, the man who should venture to adulterate or even dilute beer goes to prison, followed by disgrace and the imprecations of his fellow citizens. The man who should take it into his head to adulterate bread might do so with impunity, as long as he avoids introducing poisonous substances.

The demand has been made for white bread; fashion calls for it; the millers have complied. Mechanical skill has come to their assistance, and every part of the wheat which would tend to darken the flour is being removed with a precision and thoroughness which are simply wonderful. But does this tend to make the bread better? Does it give the workingman a greater return for his hard-earned loaf? Does this refined milling process give to the convalescing invalid, to the growing child, more strength and nutriment than did the old-fashioned dark bread? The answer to the foregoing questions is decidedly in the negative. Indeed, on the other hand, it is impossible to estimate the injury done by the elimination of the most valuable constituents of the grain. A prominent English physician, when discussing this question, has recently said:

"Wheat and water contain all the elements necessary for man, and for the hard-working man, too. Where is the man that can exist on our present white bread and water? There is an old joke about doctors being in league with undertakers; it would rather appear as if the millers and bakers were in the doctors' pay, as if, were it not for them, and for the white bread they are so zealous in producing, the doctors would have less to do. Separating the bran from the flour became fashionable at the beginning of the present century. This fashion created the dental profession, which, with its large manufacturing industries, has grown up within the last two generations. It has reached its present magnitude only because our food is systematically deprived of lime, of salts and phosphoric acid, the creators of nerve bone, and tissue, which especially are so signally absent from our modern white bread."

What we need is a reversal of the opinion which demands a white, starchy flour. We further need a milling process which will grind the whole berry of the wheat to such fineness that the grain will not act as an irritant on the membrane of the stomach and bowels. It is well known that the germ of the wheat contains a high percentage of ash and phosphoric acid, and also fat; indeed, the germ contains almost all the fat of the grain, and it therefore becomes one of the most important elements of food. The slight discoloration of the flour which is caused by its presence has, however, condemned it, and in the modern system of dressing white flour it is discarded. For much the same reason the cellulose and the cerealine, which are part of the bran, are also unadvisably cast out. This cerealine is one of the most

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important of the soluble albumenoids in respect to the energy with which it attacks the starch of the grain and converts it into a species of sugar, called maltose or dextrose. It also has a diastatic action, which sets up a ferment wherever it is present, thus largely assisting in the digestion of other articles with which it comes in contact. It acts on the food much in the same way as the saliva or gastric juice. It is, in fact, one of nature's wonderful aids to digestion.

In spite of this, and of all the dyspeptic and constipated tendencies of our people, fashion has refused the bran a place in our daily dietary. We endeavor to replace the agencies of nature by a stimulating diet, forcing the heart to an unnatural action, or, if we are too poor to afford this, we are compelled to let the craving of the system go unheeded, and receive the punishment which is always meted out for transgressions against the laws of nature, by reduction of mental and physical vitality, which in due course of time is transplanted in the coming generations. Too much importance cannot be given to the serious mistake at present committed in discarding a considerable percentage of the nutritious elements in the grain, and especially of the agencies provided by nature to enable us to properly digest and absorb the purely nutritious portions of the wheat.

Attempts have been made in the United States to introduce a more rational and digestible flour, but they have all stranded against the unreasonable demands of the consumers for white flour and bread, and against the disinclination of leading millers and flour merchants to combat the prejudice and promote reform. It has, however, remained for Great Britain, so often foremost in practical common-sense and rational application of the results arrived at by theorizing science, to lead in this reform. In 1890 a company was formed in London for the manufacture of whole-wheat meal. It was a small beginning, but the results have been such that, within a comparatively short space of time, large numbers of leading bakers have commenced furnishing whole-wheat-meal bread and biscuits to a rapidly increasing host of consumers; sub-companies are being formed in the different cities, and sales have reached an imposing figure.

The process used in the manufacture of whole-wheat meal is novel, and, as originally carried out, was briefly described in the issue of *The American Miller* for March, 1891. The iron mill used is of exceeding simplicity, and acts by creating two exceedingly powerful revolving air-currents, by which the grains of wheat are thrown against each other, thus being reduced by attrition—bran, germ, and kernel—to a flour which, as soon as fine enough, is floated off on a rising air-current and deposited in the bin above the packer, without the necessity of submitting it to any bolting or sifting process. The grinding is done at low temperature; the meal is perfectly dried and aërated by the circulating air-currents, and the whole grain is ground. Thus all the elements present in the wheat are also found in their natural proportions in the meal. The bread baked from this meal is not white, but assumes a warm golden-brownish tint. It is free from the rasping grittiness of the imperfectly-ground Graham bread, the bran in which, never having been thoroughly pulverized, acts as an irritant upon the delicate digestive apparatus. The bread made from whole-wheat meal has a richer, more palatable taste than ordinary wheat bread. Certainly its constituents, being those provided by nature, are calculated to assist the digestive powers, and especially to counteract any constipated tendencies. For the health of the whole people, as well as upon grounds of economy, it would

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appear to be a duty to better utilize the nutritious and digestive substances in the wheat.

This question of proper food is one that thinking physicians might discuss. If it is a fact that, by a simple reform in the grinding and preparation of an article of such universal use as flour, a great benefit can be effectually secured, no greater good could be achieved than by encouraging such a reform. It is important to create a popular feeling strong enough to carry reform and improvement over the strong fortifications which prejudice, ignorance, and habit have formed around the present starchy compound which we call wheat bread.

ERASTUS WIMAN.

THE TOMBS IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

THE time is within measurable distance when we may expect to find hung on the tower of Westminster Abbey a placard bearing the legend seen on the Paris omnibuses when they are full—"Westminster Abbey is *complet*." To be precise, it is almost full of more or less illustrious dead, and for generations to come the accommodation that remains must needs be sparingly dealt with. The Royal Commission which sat this year (1891) to inquire into the matter discovered that by masterly contrivance, making use of every spot available for the purpose, ninety or even ninety-five interments might yet take place. If burials under this sacred rooftree went on at the ancient scale, this accommodation would be speedily exhausted. From a search through old records, happily kept with infinite care at the Abbey, it appears that in ten years from 1681 to 1690 there were one hundred burials in the Abbey itself, whilst one hundred and twenty-five more or less obscure persons were allowed to rest within the precincts. A hundred years later, in the corresponding decennial period, there were but thirty-one. Not that there were fewer great people to bury, but that there were fewer mediocrities upon whom the honor of sepulture in Westminster Abbey or its precincts was bestowed.

"Westminster Abbey or glorious victory!" Nelson cried when leading the boarders at Cape St. Vincent on to the Spanish three-decker "San Josef." It is not precisely the kind of remark in such circumstances one would expect off the transpontine stage. But Colonel Drinkwater Bethune declares the words were used, and the Colonel was there at the time. However that be, the phrase connected with Nelson's name shows how high is reckoned the distinction of being buried in Westminster Abbey. And yet even within the present century the cloisters and the Abbey have been used as a place of sepulture for people living obscure lives in humble circumstances. In jealously limiting admission to the illustrious dead, the Abbey authorities are reverting to the earliest intention of its founder and his successors. The first burial in the Abbey was that of Edward the Confessor, who built the earlier church with the special object of serving as a tomb for himself. The King was buried near the altar, and close by his grave on Christmas Day, 1066, William the Conqueror was crowned, and there on the selfsame spot every King or Queen who has since reigned in England has received the rite of coronation. At first only members of the royal family were buried at Westminster, and when Richard the Second ordered the interment, within the chapel of the Confessor, of John of Waltham, Bishop of Salisbury, his trusty minister, a thrill of horror ran through

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the kingdom as far as the story travelled. No one was surprised when such a King was dethroned by Henry of Bolingbroke, and presently done to death in Pontefract Castle.

The ground thus broken, Westminster Abbey slowly became the place of sepulture for men who had claims to eminence other than the adventitious circumstance of royal birth. In the last year of the sixteenth century Spenser was buried in the spot now known as the Poets' Corner. Next followed Beaumont, Drayton, and Ben Jonson. It is, however, in the present century that the Abbey obtained the peculiar place in English history which connects it with the roll of supremely great Englishmen. Pitt and Fox were both buried there within the same year. Brinsley Sheridan was buried in 1816. To what strange uses the noble fane might still be put is shown on turning over the record by finding that in the next year there was buried in the Abbey a still-born daughter of their royal highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Cumberland. Grattan was buried here in 1820; Canning in 1827; Wilberforce, 1833; Lord Chatham, 1835; Thomas Campbell, 1844; Stephenson, 1859; Macaulay, 1860; Outram and Clyde, 1863; Lord Palmerston, 1865; Dickens, 1870; Lord Lytton, 1873; Dr. Livingstone in the following year, and Lord Lawrence and Sir Rowland Hill in 1879, whilst in 1881 Dean Stanley, who during the term of his deanship had watched over the building with infinite solicitude, had a place found for him in Henry VII.'s chapel.

These are names familiar throughout the world, and the burial of such men in Westminster Abbey is appropriate enough. What is less known is the presence within the precincts of the Abbey of a long list of nonentities. As recently as the year 1817 there was buried in the cloisters George Wellington Francis Balthasar St. Anthonio, aged two years. The Royal Commission in vain inquired as to the identity of Master Anthonio, and the wherefore of the honor done to him, for which Nelson cheerfully perilled his life at St. Vincent. Nothing is known of him, only his name, under the weight of whose syllables the infant seems to have sunk ere yet he learned to walk. It is easy to understand why in 1801 Susanna Frances was buried in Westminster Abbey, for it is mentioned in the register that she was the widow of a sacrist. Similar honor was done in following years to George Schliemacher, "formerly servant to the Dean"; Elizabeth Newbegin, wife of the college butler; Mary Barrow, widow of a chorister; Ann Forster, niece of the Abbey carpenter, and Amelia Cook, daughter of the Abbey organist, were people connected, however obscurely, with the service of the Abbey, and were buried within its precincts. But persons having property in the neighborhood claimed the right, and generally had it admitted. Macpherson, the reputed author of "Ossian," died in Inverness. When his will was opened, there was found in it directions for his burial in Westminster Abbey on the ground that he had property near there. No objection was offered on the part of the authorities. Macpherson's body was brought by hearse all the way from the far north and buried in the Abbey close by Dr. Johnson, who when alive had not been reticent in his criticism on "Ossian." In the register one finds an entry of the interment of a lady with the explanation that it was "so ordered in her will,"—scarcely sufficient authority in these days for burial in Westminster Abbey. There exists at this day a curious claim to burial in the Abbey which the authorities are bound to admit whenever put forward. It belongs to the Duke of Northumberland's family, who claim a prescriptive right of burial in this Abbey dating back to the time when the Duke of Som-

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erset married the heiress of the Percys. The Percy tomb is in the chapel of St. Nicholas, and when in 1883 Lady Louisa Percy died she was buried there. Naturally an end must come to this luxury. There are already twenty-five coffins in the vault, and scarcely room enough for another full-grown Percy. There is one other private vault in the nave, that of Atterbury. This good bishop, having been sent to the Tower on suspicion of high treason, and subsequently banished from the realm, left directions in his will that he should be buried in Westminster Abbey, adding the proviso that it should be "as far away as possible from Kings"—a foresight lacking in the case of Macpherson, who never thought of Dr. Johnson when he desired to be buried in the Abbey.

One of the most curious discoveries recently made in connection with burials in Westminster Abbey came out in an accidental way. Workmen were engaged in the cloister garden making an engine-room. In digging for foundations they came upon a lot of human bones buried in the sand. They were lying carefully placed east and west, but there was no sign of coffin or of rust of nail; only the bare bones. Evidence in connection with excavations made clearly traced the burials back six hundred years, to the time of Edward I. A grassy space shaded by the walls of the Abbey is full at this day of the bones of coffinless, nameless subjects of Edward I.

The Abbey records do not, in respect of interments, go back in any completeness beyond the year 1600. Since that day 1,175 persons have been buried within the Abbey, and 1,811 in the precincts. In later years the Abbey doors have been opened to receive dead only under circumstances of exceptional merit. Dean Stanley was in office for eighteen years, during which time there were only twenty-one burials within the Abbey and five in the precincts. Dean Bradley succeeded in 1881, and up to the present time only seven interments have taken place. The last was that of Mr. Browning, and the search for room for his coffin brought into fresh prominence the narrow limits of the opportunities the Abbey possesses to-day for receiving the illustrious dead.

Mr. Wright, the clerk of the Works, gave some interesting evidence before the Commissioners, his business-like, off-handed manner of alluding to the details of his business recalling the style of conversation peculiar to gravediggers in *Hamlet's* time. He seems to have been much troubled in the pursuit of his business by coming in contact with concrete, brought on the spot in connection with the foundation of the building. There is still space for interments in the west aisle of the north transept which might have been available only for the inconsiderate action of Henry III. "It is a mass of concrete," Mr. Wright told the Commissioners. "Concrete was, as far as my judgment goes, rather carelessly and lavishly used by Henry III.'

Sometimes, driven by circumstances, Mr. Wright has been compelled to struggle with this concrete. It invades Poets' Corner, and when Browning was buried there it was necessary to fill up the grave with concrete instead of earth. Digging here, the men found traces of two other nameless bodies gone to dust, with the exception of just the main bones. No sign whatever of a coffin. "I found concrete here when I buried Spottiswood," said Mr. Wright, pointing to the map, "and there when I buried Browning. But when I buried Browning we got partly out of it."

Hamlet. How long will a man be in the earth ere he rot?

First Clown. Faith if he be not rotten before he die he will last you some eight year or nine year. A tanner will last you nine year.

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In this familiar strain Mr. Wright, all unconsciously, continued to speak. Asked if he knew of other interments in Poets' Corner made in concrete, he said: "There are two ladies, two Percys, and they are excavated out of concrete. I saw them when I buried Spottiswood by their side." Speaking of the vault where the Cecils were buried and answering a question from *Hamlet*—I mean from one of the Commissioners—he said: "You know, sir, it is a mixed party which is buried there." Living poets will hear with interest Mr. Wright's testimony as to the space remaining in their heritage of the Corner. "I have room for three or four more," he said, as if poets were packets of stationery or flagons of ink. "I know one spot to a certainty, and I know another spot or two beside Browning, two near Dickens and Macaulay." Taking up the staff and pointing to the map, he added: "I believe there is room for one here. I know there is room for two or three here. I am certain of one by the side of Browning."

In contravention of ordinary principles of political economy, the scarcer ground for burial grows in Westminster Abbey the price of interment decreases. In the receiver's office there is a musty book setting forth the funeral fees in 1717. From this we find that "a gent buried in the body of y^e^ church" must needs have paid on his account a sum of £10, being fabric fee. Other fixed charges were:

	£	s.	d.
A Kt in the Body of y^e^ Church	13	06	8
Within any of y^e^ Chappells	20	00	0
A Baron	26	00	0
An Earl	30	00	0
A Marquis	35	00	0
A Duke	40	00	0
A Bp	30	00	0
An Archbp	40	00	0
All within the Tombs	20	00	0

A Ld by courtesy same as a Baron.

In addition there were fees to officers, the dean taking £2 12s., the prebends half a sovereign each, the sub-dean 13s. 4d., and the minister officiating a sovereign. The chantor and choir appropriated £8 3s. 4d. The receiver and the registrar had 10s. a piece, whilst the verger "left it to you."

All above the rank of knight had to pay mourning-fees in accordance with the following ordinance:

	£	s.	d.
To the Dean, 10 yds. of cloth for a gown, cassock and hood, at 20s. a yd	10	00	0
His 4 Servants, 4 yds. each, at 10s. a yd	8	00	0
The Sub-dean, 5 yds. for a gown and hood, at 20s	5	00	0
The Sub-dean's man, 3 yds., at 10s	1	10	0
The Chantor, 5 yds., at 20s., for a gown and hood	5	00	0
The Vergers, 4 yds. each, at 10s	4	00	0
The Porter, 4 yds., at 10s	2	00	0
The 12 Almsmen, in lieu of mourning	4	16	0

Finally, there was £5 for the use of Jerusalem Chamber, a sum the dean pocketed. In all, a funeral in Westminster Abbey was not to be done under a minimum of 100 guineas, and ran up to £150. Persons buried in leaden coffins paid a fee of £6, if interred in the Abbey, and half that sum if buried in the cloisters. There was a £5 fine for burying in linen. When Pitt was buried, 90 pairs of gloves, at 3s. 6d. each, were presented to the choir.

In 1829 these fees were revised, but not largely reduced. It would still cost a duke or duchess £150 to be buried in the Abbey, whilst a commoner "could be done," as Mr. Wright would say, for £80. Dean Stanley introduced searching reforms into the scale of charges, reducing them, on the one side, as far as perquisites for officials were concerned, so as to increase the

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amount going to the fabric fund. Up to 1874 silk scarfs, hat-bands, and gloves were given to the clergy, officers, and choir. The value of these perquisites was submitted to solemn arbitration, and it was decided that in lieu thereof there should be made to the choir, organist, and servants a money payment amounting to £31 2s. 6d. Total fees for interment now charged are for the fabric fund, £26, £36 or £46, according to the decree of the person buried. The fees of the dean, canon, choir, officers, and verger are fixed at £34 2s. 6d., which, with the £31 2s. 6d. presented to the choir, organist, and servants, makes a total varying from £91 4s. 8d. to £110 4s. 8d. Formerly the scarfs, hat-bands, and gloves were charged in the undertaker's bill, and it will be seen that economies to that amount, which would certainly not be less than £31 2s. 6d., have been effected at the Abbey.

The conclusion arrived at upon the inquiry undertaken by the Royal Commission, assisted by the business aptitude of the clerk of the Works, was that, using every available space for the purpose, not more than ninety to ninety-five interments may in future take place. At the western end of the nave there is probably room for forty-five coffins; twenty more might be laid in the concrete which supports the wall at the northwest corner of the north aisle, and possibly a dozen more coffins might be added to the "mixed parties" in the larger vaults not yet full. That, taking the average of persons deemed eligible for admission to the Abbey in recent times, would provide for all the just needs of the next hundred years.

Of the various projects submitted for supplying adjuncts to the Abbey that might be used as charnel-houses, the commissioners recommend the erection of a monumental chapel on a vacant piece of ground, the site of the old refectory, lying immediately south of the great cloister and parallel to the nave of the Abbey. But there is not much enthusiasm in the recommendation, nor has there, since it was submitted to the Queen, been any movement towards carrying it into effect. There seems, in truth, a disposition to extend to the unborn future the privilege of burying its dead, already claimed for the dead past.

HENRY W. LUCY.

JEWS IN THE UNION ARMY.

IN THE December number of THE REVIEW, Mr. J. M. Rogers, in a reply to Isaac Besht Bendavid's statement that "on both sides in that conflict the American Israelites stood shoulder to shoulder with their fellow citizens of all other races and creeds," says that in all his eighteen months' experience in the army he never met or heard of a Jewish soldier, and "if so many Jews fought bravely for their adopted country, surely their champion ought to be able to give the names of the regiments they condescended to accept service in."

Did Mr. Rogers make this absurd statement in the hope that no champion of the Jews would lift his pen in refutation of his assertions? Who Mr. Rogers is, and what prompted him to attack the Jewish people, I am at a loss to ascertain. But that he has resorted to means unworthy of impartial historical record, and that his outraged feelings have played sad havoc with his sense of fairness,—rashly assuming that he possessed this virtue in some small measure,—I can most safely affirm. There is not a semblance of truth in the charges with which he attempts to impeach Jewish national pride; otherwise his indictment would imply the justice of Mr. Goldwin Smith's denunciatory branding of the Jews as a "parasitic race."

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Many of my co-religionists, wrathful at this scurrilous attack, have exclaimed: "Another page must be added to the historical record of the Civil War, telling of the heroic martyrdom the Jews rejoiced to suffer, to save their land from further degradation." And as a result of the agitation produced by this article, I am happy to say that work has already been begun for the preparation of a complete history of the part the Jews bore in the late struggle.

Immediately upon reading the article referred to, I wrote to Mr. Thomas S. Townsend, compiler of the "Library of National, State, and Individual Records," and received from him the following reply:

"NEW YORK, December 22, 1891.

"STEPHEN S. WISE, ESQ.

"MY DEAR SIR: Referring to the article in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW on 'Jews in the Union Army,' to which you call my attention, I would say that I consider it both absurd and unjust, as I have in mind the names of many Jewish officers who served in the late war with distinction and repeatedly received 'honorable mention' for bravery in the discharge of duty. To be more particular, I find by the most cursory reference to the 'Townsend Library of National, State, and Individual Records,' the following names of those who have done credit to their country and their race: General F. Knefler, General Blumenberg, Major Alfred Mordecai, Lieutenant-Colonel Neuman, David Ezekiel, Elias Leon, David M. Cohen, Edward D. Taussig, Captain Michaelis, J. S. Emanuel, Henry B. Nunes, Henry B. Nunes, Jr., J. R. Nunes, Emanuel Phillips, Jonas Barnett, Capt. J. P. Levy, Albert A. Michaelson, Levi M. Harby, Mark E. Cohen, Israel Moses, Isaac Moses, Mordecai Myers, and Colonel Asch. These instances recorded, and a host of gallant soldiers and sailors of Jewish extraction who have shed lustre on their race, will suffice to awaken a higher regard for their talents in a field hitherto unexplored. You are at liberty to examine my work at any time, and thus further substantiate my statements and demonstrate the injurious character of those in the article referred to. Very truly yours,

"THOMAS S. TOWNSEND."

Availing myself of this kind invitation, I found, upon reference to Mr. Townsend's work, the names of a large number of Jewish soldiers recorded in the "Roll of Honor" for specially distinguished and meritorious services; among whom are Lehman Israels, Sergeant Jacobson, Captain Asche, Samuel Benjamin, Colonel Hayman, Jacob Fry, Joseph S. Abraham, Nathan S. Benjamin, Isaac H. Dann, and Charles Abrams.

Simon Wolf, of Washington, D. C., without any attempt at elaboration, collates the names of eighty officers (some holding the high rank of general), the majority of whom distinguished themselves by the most reckless daring and zeal. Mr. Wolf states, and I am prepared to justify his claim, that the proportion of those of the Jewish religion who fought in the army is as large as that of any other faith.

Considering that the number of Jews could not have been greater than 140,000, and that at least 6,000 fought in the Union army alone, the percentage is truly striking.

I will concede that Generals Lyons and Rosecrans were not Jews. This admission on my part is important, for it constitutes the only point in which I subscribe to the truth of Mr. Rogers's statements. Unworthy of notice is his insinuation that wherever the Jews stood "shoulder to shoulder" with their fellow-citizens they were "promptly ordered out for speculating in cotton, and conveying information to the Confederates." Notwithstanding the fact that a number of soldiers were charged with the

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offence of "speculating in cotton" and that not a few Christians met with punishment, he deems the Jews alone, of all people, entitled to blame. It is no secret that General Grant repeatedly declared that his famous order No. 11, expelling the Jews from Paducah, Kentucky, was the result of carelessness; had he thoroughly investigated affairs before sending out this order, his action would have been different, and he never ceased to regret that he issued it. It was promptly revoked, and *The Times* of January 18, 1863, says: "Its immediate and peremptory abrogation saved the government from a blot and redeemed us from disgrace." Will it surprise Mr. Rogers to learn that a resolution censuring General Grant for his order expelling the Jews was the subject of much debate in the Senate, and that the fear that General Grant's influence with his soldiers might thereby be lessened saved him from the humiliation of censure?

The issuing of General Sherman's order, similar to that of Grant, was confessedly prompted by a misunderstanding of the true status of affairs. Readily believing all that was told him, he issued the order, but its injustice he conceded, and he endeavored to make reparation by confessing that he was mistaken and deceived.

While Mr. Rogers deserves to feel mortified and humiliated, I cannot allow my interest in the subject to interfere with the lesson I hope he will derive from my exposure of his weak, silly, and contemptible statements, which he seems prompted to make with a view to casting odium upon my race; and I hope I have taught him not to make rash statements that he cannot substantiate. In conclusion, I think I have succeeded in disabusing the mind of the reader of any injurious impression that may have been created by the statement of the author of the article to which I reply.

STEPHEN S. WISE.

RAILROAD CONSOLIDATION.

IT DOES not require any argument to demonstrate that consolidation, up to a certain point, in all business transactions, must be advantageous to the interests directly involved. Whether such consolidation will result in advantages to other interests, or to the general public, will depend largely upon circumstances. That large transactions, large purchases, the percentage of decrease in cost, not only in the original purchases, but in freight, insurances, and every other item which goes to make up the increase in the capital involved, and the resultant dividends, possess great advantages over smaller transactions, goes without saying. This is a matter of every-day demonstration. It goes to show that where great interests are consolidated in the hands of one man, with power to control them with the will of an autocrat, the object of those interests will be better attained than when those powers are distributed amongst half a dozen different persons. These latter are apt to become, on the slightest clashing of interests, such a "balky team" in commercial matters as General Grant once alluded to in military affairs. No reasonable man will attempt to deny that one railroad corporation operating a single road between Albany and Buffalo has immense advantages, and can transport passengers and freight better, more promptly, and more cheaply between those two points than half a dozen different companies could. But, in the absence of competition, does it follow that it will do it?

When the first Pacific railroad was in course of construction, and

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everybody in the country was wondering if it was going to be a success, hoping it would be, and almost holding his breath least the obstacles to be overcome should prove too formidable and the work suddenly cease, I remember having my indignation considerably excited by hearing a gentleman from "the States" exclaim: "What a terrible monopoly it will be!" Does any one to-day doubt what a monopoly it would have been but for the construction of other roads? Now, if all the Pacific roads were consolidated under one head, the monopoly would be worse than ever. The question, therefore, naturally arises whether consolidation may not be carried too far, and too many miles of road be placed under one head, just as too many soldiers may sometimes be placed under one general whose capacity for command is limited. This state of affairs was exemplified more than once during the Civil War.

All observing men will acknowledge that to properly manage a large railroad demands the very highest talent, and people who think of railroad presidents, superintendents, and managers only as personages who draw immense salaries, ride in sumptuous special cars, and live, when at home, in palatial residences, know little of what hard-worked people they are, and what sleepless nights and days of worry are constantly passing over their heads. Their work can be compared only to that of soldiers in an active field campaign when every faculty is kept on the alert night and day for thirty or forty days at a time. But for the soldier there *must* come rest, and it has been stated that a thirty days' active campaign is almost as much as human nature can stand without completely breaking down. For the railroad officials this rest *never* comes, and is seldom voluntarily enjoyed until by the constant wear and tear, not of thirty days, but of months and years, the man becomes a wreck, and is obliged by his physician to abandon all work or die. The instances of this are far too numerous in this country alone to raise the suspicion that this picture is a fanciful one.

Some one has said that one always writes and speaks in the language of his profession, and the impulse is irresistible to make a comparison between the railroad profession and my own. In both, the very highest talent in the upper grades is required, though, strange to say, in railroading the demand is so imperative that it is very unusual to see such serious blunders as are sometimes made in the military, where the grave exigencies of war can ill afford mistakes. These mistakes in the military are accounted for by the fact that the process of evolution in that service is confined in war to the short period of three or four years, and in our country, unfortunately, the evolution process does not go on in time of peace; whilst in railroading evolution has gone on ever since railroads were invented, and when one leading light drops out another is ready to take his place. These leading lights command immense salaries, and it is curious to note the contrast between railroading and the military profession in this respect.

In the Civil War, at a time when the very existence of the country hung in the balance, and failure on the part of the military would have made railroad bonds and most other securities as worthless as the paper upon which they were written, the highest military talent commanded less pay than does the president of a second-class railroad, whilst that of the constitutional commander-in-chief of the army and navy was only about one-half of that paid to the presidents of first-class roads!

Consolidation or concentration is as important in railroading as in military operations, but there is no reason why the one should not be as much

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governed by rule and law as the other. If the banking institutions of the United States are to be governed by fixed laws, there would appear to be no good reason why the intercourse between the States of this Union should not be governed in the same way, not only to protect and secure the public against imposition, but to prevent the clashings liable to arise between the different States.

Proverbially, corporations have no souls, and but too frequently individuals are their victims, and practically have no remedy worth naming. What remedy, for example. has a man who receives a telegraphic despatch stating that his wife or sister lies dead at a morgue, when no such thing is true? when a careless, reckless, or indifferent operator sends an important despatch to Vancouver, *B. C.*, when it ought to have gone to Vancouver, *Washington?* or when a poor, anxious officer of the army, looking eagerly for a despatch, is awakened at midnight with a telegram intended for a church dignitary of *nearly* the same name, conveying the intelligence that a bishop of the church has just died? None whatever that is of any practical value. Why should a despatch be paid for when not delivered, when delivery was easy and practicable? Why should not a ticket issued by a railroad company, and paid for, be good until used, just as a check on a bank is good until the bank pays it? And is there any good reason why these and similar matters should not be regulated by law?

"Why should not a very large number of the people who use these roads invest their money in such an organization and thus become, to a large extent, the owners and controllers of the railroads that they use?" The reason is that a very strong impression exists amongst a large number of the people that the value of railroad stock in this country depends not so much upon the intrinsic value of the railroad as upon the extraneous value given to it in commercial centres like Wall Street. In other words, an outsider always buys "a pig in a poke" and never knows, when he purchases railroad stock, whether he is paying twice as much as it will ever be worth or not. There is not much danger that he will ever pay too little, although those who are behind the curtain frequently do that and make their profits by the manipu lations to which the stock is subjected, no matter whether it is really worth much or little. What remedy there may be for this state of affairs it is hard to say, since gambling in stocks seems to be inevitable; but the fact will always prevent the populace from investing in such stocks, as is suggested by Mr. Huntington in THE REVIEW for September last. Outsiders cannot but be timid about placing their money in stocks which are liable to be manipulated in this way: A prominent railroad official gives out in Wall Street that his road is sure, when the time comes, to declare the usual dividend, and in anticipation of this dividend the price of the stock remains steady. Suddenly, however, as the time approaches, it is given out that the railroad has not been doing as well as it ought and it is doubtful if any dividend will be declared this quarter. The usual time for the meeting of the directors comes. There is no meeting, and there is no dividend, and down goes the price of the stock. Then it is discovered that the prominent railroad official was "short" on stock and wanted the price to fall in order that he might make his millions by the change of price!

Were it possible to make railroad stocks as permanent and invariable in price as United States bonds, then we might expect the money of the multitude to flow into railroad securities; but as long as the condition of affairs remains as it is at present, such a direction to the currency of the country

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need not be expected, and unlimited consolidation would only tend to make matters worse.

It is simply idle to talk of the great transportation companies of this country not overriding the rights of the people—*if they had the chance.* Man is such a tricky animal that, give him the *power*, and the *rights* of other people disappear like mists before the rising sun; and unfortunately *rights* have a heavy fight to right themselves against *power* when once in possession. This is sure to be the case, no matter in what country "power" gets the upper hand of "rights."

Unlimited consolidation, if good anywhere, is good everywhere. Suppose it were possible to do with the banks what Mr. Huntington proposes to do with the railroads of the country. Can it be doubted that, when an occasion arose, those who wanted to borrow money would be obliged to pay for it just what this consolidated bank demanded? If it did not demand the highest price the first time, it would be simply because it would be thought bad policy to do so; but it would only require a threatened war, drought, or famine to run the price of money up to the highest point deemed prudent to ask; yet few will doubt that such a consolidated bank could be so conducted as to cheapen generally the price of money, and still pay a good dividend to the stockholders. But the same question still comes up, Does it follow that it would be done?

JOHN GIBBON.

SUNDAY AT THE WORLD'S FAIR.

SOME of our people are already passing resolutions in their convocations and rolling up petitions to Congress asking that the World's Fair in Chicago may be closed on Sundays, and it is important that those holding opposite views should be heard.

To my mind the fair should be open for many reasons. It is the only day that the laboring masses can enjoy it, as they are practically excluded every other day by the necessities of their condition. When the vast army of men who will construct the magnificent buildings and beautify the grounds, who day by day will lift the heavy machinery and foreign exhibits in place, desire to bring their wives and children to the exposition, Sunday will be the only day they will have leisure to do so; the only day, too, when farm-hands from the country, men and women from the workshops and the factories, clerks from the busy marts of trade, servants from their domestic vocations, can claim a few hours for recreation. When we consider the multitudes that comprise these classes and their immense value in the world of work, we appreciate the importance of their rights and interests in all the arrangements of society, whether for profit or pleasure. So far from the fair being closed on Sunday, it should be the one day especially reserved for the masses, when all those who have other opportunities should not crowd the exposition.

Though the Centennial Exposition in 1876 was closed on Sunday, yet favored statesmen, millionaires, and foreign diplomats visited every department on that day and viewed the exhibits at their leisure. Whether the fair is open or not, the city of Chicago will inevitably be crowded on Sunday. People will come from all parts of the State, to look at each other, at the exposition buildings, the parks, and to enjoy whatever attractions the surroundings afford. If the exposition is closed, they must necessarily crowd

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less desirable places of amusement; hence if it is the best interests of the people those in authority aim at, they will keep the fair open on Sunday.

It is said that "those who watch the exhibits and serve the public through the week should have one day of rest." As their labors are transient, lasting only a few months, and as their surroundings are varied, beautiful, and entertaining, the tax on their time and patience would be light compared with the dreary monotony of the lives of ordinary laborers who spend year after year in dingy workshops and dark offices, or with multitudes of young men, sitting with bent shoulders, writing by artificial lights, —a class as much to be pitied as those who dig in the mines, scarcely ever seeing the light of day.

Those who can dispose of their time as they see fit can hardly appreciate what a Sunday at the World's Fair would be for large classes of their fellow men. It is difficult to see from what standpoint those women viewed the happiness of their fellow beings, who, in convention assembled, passed resolutions in favor of closing the fair on Sunday.

That noble Quakeress, Lucretia Mott, seeing that the laboring masses were practically excluded from the Centennial Exposition, made her protest against the injustice by never passing within the gates herself. With fifteen added years of experience one would think all American women might have reached a similar standard of justice and common-sense.

What is the duty of the State in this matter? Clearly, to do whatever conserves the welfare of the majority of the people. The minority have the right to stay away from the exposition on Sunday, but they have no right to throw obstacles in the way of a majority by influencing popular sentiment or securing legislative enactments to prevent them from enjoying that day in whatever way they may see fit, provided they do not infringe on the rights of the minority.

Again, in a financial point of view, the State has no right to cripple a great popular enterprise, wholly beneficial in its results, by any interference. The managers of the exposition, before everything is completed, must expend fabulous sums of money in realizing their ideal of what an exposition should be, and to close the gates the very day the greatest numbers could be there would be hostile to the interests of the managers as well as the happiness of the people. If to close the fair would drive the laboring masses to the churches, there to drop their dimes into the collection-boxes, there might be some reason for ecclesiastical interference. But the majority will not go to the churches, but rather crowd the drinking and gambling saloons, the restaurants, and the dance-houses, and make the city a pandemonium by night. But, after a long, well-spent day mid such fairy scenes as the exposition will present, wandering round the beautiful park or sailing on the lake, the majority would take the evening trains to their respective homes, with pleasant memories of all they had seen—enough to gladden the remaining days of the week.

If we would lift the masses out of their gross pleasures, we must cultivate their tastes for more refined enjoyments. The object of Sunday observance is primarily to give the people a day of rest and recreation, a change from their ordinary employments, a little space of time, in the hard struggle of life, for amusement. Sunday by common consent is the day set aside to use the best influences society possesses, to cultivate the religious emotions, the moral sentiments, to teach the dignity of humanity and the brotherhood of the race. It needs but little reflection to see what a potent

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influence in all these directions the World's Fair will be. The location is in every way most desirable. A magnificent park, whose shores are washed by an inland sea, vast buildings, that in grandeur and beauty of architecture have never been equalled, filled with the most wonderful productions of all that is new in art and science, from every nation on the globe—what an impressive scene this will be! With multitudes of men and women in happy companionship, now wandering through this museum of wonders, and now down the winding walks of the boundless park, now seated in that beautiful pavilion on the shores of Lake Michigan, watching the rolling waves break at their feet, or in the grand concert-hall listening to interpretations by Theodore Thomas, Seidl, or Damrosch, of the divine melodies of the old masters—where else could such a rare combination of pleasures, mid such surroundings, be so easily provided for the people?

Here, too, in shady nooks gifted orators might speak to the multitudes on popular reforms or religious questions, for there are no meetings more impressive than those held in the open air, and many assemblies might be held in that vast space without interfering with each other.

If, then, the influence of the exposition on the minds of the people, can be alike entertaining and instructive, we may well ask, Why should it be closed on Sunday?

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

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